

THE  
**SOCIALIST  
STANDARD**

**1962**

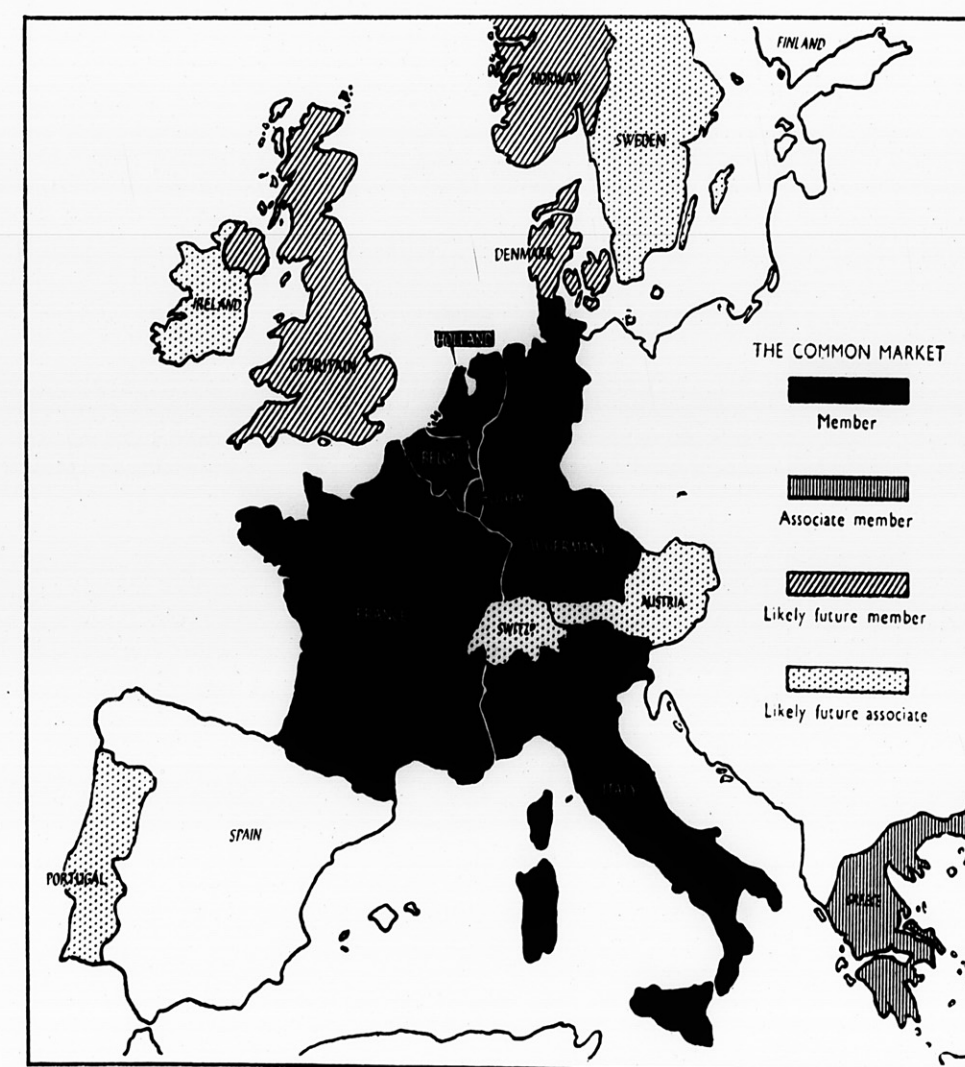


# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

Official Journal  
of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

JANUARY 1962/6d

## **THE COMMON MARKET**



### *SPECIAL SURVEY*

**THE BACKGROUND  
INDUSTRIAL POWER**

**WORKERS' POSITION  
AGRICULTURE**

**THE COMMONWEALTH**



## Socialist Party

OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
  - 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
  - 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
  - 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
  - 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
  - 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
  - 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
  - 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.
- Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## Branches

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting.

- BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
- BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (4th & 18th Jan) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7, Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.
- CAMBERWELL** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.
- DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, Jan 5th, at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and Jan 19th at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.
- EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.
- ECCELS** 2nd Monday (Jan 8th) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
- GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.
- HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.
- ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.
- KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.
- LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: S.P.G.B. 2, Davenport Road, SE6.
- NOTTINGHAM** Alternate Wednesdays (3rd 17th & 31st Jan) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.
- PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St. near Marylebone Rd). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.
- SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (8th Jan) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (22nd Jan) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingwood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.
- SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (1st & 15th Jan) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Pauls. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.
- WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W13.
- WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th & 25th Jan) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.
- WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.
- WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (12th and 26th Jan) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

## Groups

- BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.
- COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (1st & 15th Jan) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.
- DORKING & DISTRICT** Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.
- EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.
- MANCHESTER** Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel: DID 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 18th Jan 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran nr. Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.
- REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.
- SUSSEX** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

The  
WESTERN  
SOCIALIST

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism  
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid

January 1962

Vol 58 No 689

# SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

### NEWS IN REVIEW

Algeria  
Pay Pause  
Scooter Slump  
Lib-Lab?

### THE NEWCOMERS

### THE COMMON MARKET

The Background . . . . . 6  
The Industrial Power . . . . . 7  
The Workers' Position . . . . . 9  
Agriculture . . . . . 11  
The Commonwealth . . . . . 12

### THE LEVELLERS

### THE PASSING SHOW

### MACHINERY

### SELF SERVICE

### BRANCH NEWS

### MEETINGS

## The Common Market — the Real Issue

The Common Market has become front-page news. Papers that could hardly spare it a thought a few short months ago now give it headlines. Special features set out to explain things in simple terms for "the man in the street." On radio and TV it is the same. Even ITV did a series and got criticised for slanting the programme too heavily in favour of Britain going in.

There is plenty of such criticism, of course. Dire warnings of what will happen to us if Britain goes into the Common Market are matched by equally dreadful ones about our fate if she stays out.

We are told of other possible consequences. Of how the Government is thinking of going over to decimal currency—after hesitation on the part of its predecessors for close on a hundred and fifty years. And of the way Mr. Marples is apparently making preparations just in case we have eventually to drive on the right hand side of the road! How much keener can British capitalism's representatives show themselves than that?

But, more seriously, why this sudden about-turn? Why, after resolutely refusing to have anything to do with the Common Market for years, is the British Government desperately trying to get in? Even in 1958, when the writing was pretty plainly on the wall, they still preferred to set up the rival firm EFTA (the Seven) rather than come to terms with the Six. They had the chance of joining then and turned it down.

Even a few months ago prominent Tory leaders were loudly proclaiming that they wouldn't have anything to do with the Common Market. Now they have eaten their words and are almost knocking the door down in Brussels trying to get in. Why should this be?

The reason is quite simple. The Common Market has become a threat to the interests of British capitalism, too blatant and dangerous to be ignored any longer.

The Common Market has a population as great as that of the United States. It is now not only the biggest importer of raw materials in the world, it has also become the largest exporter of manufactured goods equalled only by the Americans. And even American capitalism is beginning to be worried about its encroachments upon what it has always regarded as its unassailable position—witness the sudden haste to liberalise its trade laws and the recent statements by prominent leaders that the United States may itself be compelled to apply for membership of the Common Market in time.

The reason, then, for British capitalism's change of front is the one we should always seek when we wish to discover the motive for the really important activities of capitalist nations and their political spokesmen—the motive of *harsh, real, cold economic interest*.

Plain and inescapable is the fact that if British capitalism does not go into the Common Market, it is going to be left isolated in a world increasingly under the sway of the economic power of the Six. This isolation will become more and more pronounced as the Market's internal tariffs fall and its duties on imported products increase. Eventually, if the avowed aims of the Common Market were to be achieved, British capitalism would be left high and dry. The Tory Government has, belatedly, woken to the danger and is now fighting a desperate last-minute battle to avert it.

This is the real meaning of the Common Market for British capitalism, and we have thought it of sufficient importance to justify this special issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. It still will not amount to much space compared with the vast resources of the capitalist Press. But it will be sufficient for us to present a really adequate Socialist analysis of yet another aspect of capitalism.



## NEWS IN REVIEW

### Algeria

In Algeria and in France the blood still flows.

The shootings, the bombings, the threats—even the publicity-worthy attempt by the OAS to extort money from Brigitte Bardot—are typical of a bitter struggle between nationalists and colonialists.

Recent events have been bad enough. But according to some correspondents they are only the lull before another terrible storm breaks over Algeria.

What has happened to de Gaulle, the strong man who was going to clear up this mess? Whatever local influence the French President has had on the struggle—and there is no denying that he has had some—he is pretty well powerless to resolve the basic dispute.

The Moslems are still adamantly for an Algerian Algeria. The settlers stand firm for French control of the country.

Post-war history has been notable for its bloody nationalist struggles as the colonial powers have been pushed out of country after country, not always going without a fight.

This is what can be expected when capitalism throws up its disputes over property and the right to exploit a country's workers.

That is basically what the trouble in Algeria is about. Within capitalism such struggles must go on.

Weak politicians can certainly do nothing about this. Strong politicians may make a show of doing something but end up no better than the rest.

### Pay Pause

There was, of course, much moaning in the House when they got the news that the pay pause had been defied by the award to the electricity workers.

No moaning in the power stations, though. The workers were bound to resist the pause, because it is a threat to their living standards. That is what drove the teachers to demonstrate and

what may cause the civil servants to start working to rule.

For the workers, then, it is simply a matter of fighting for their interests.

And for the employers?

For some of them the pay pause was a welcome thing. But for others it was not so simple.

Some weeks before the electricity award many private employers in the road haulage industry had chosen to ignore the Minister of Labour's ruling that a pay increase and a cut in hours could not operate until the first of this month. The employees of these firms got their rise and reduction in hours in the middle of last November.

Why did the road haulage firms give in? Simply, they reckoned up the cost of surrender. Then they balanced it against the cost of the strikes and other protests which would follow a postponement of the rise. They found that capitulation was the cheaper course. So they paid up.

Which goes to show how capitalism's divided interests extend to the employers themselves and often defeat the capitalists' own ends.

### Scooter Slump

One by one, the never-had-it-so-good industries are feeling the unaccustomed draught of recession.

Cars, television sets and refrigerators have already had their slumps. Now a side-show industry in the post war consumer goods boom has taken a fall.

Scooters and mopeds took their share of the boom, winning a lot of young people away from the bicycles they used to pedal around. Like the rest, they had their glorious summer in 1958 when the H.P. controls were off and everything sold like hot cakes.

This was the time when Raleigh Industries, already famous for their pedal cycles came in to try to take their share of the scooter and moped market.

Since then times have become hard. Lambretta recently had to cut their prices drastically in answer to their competitors' reductions. Now Raleigh, who have already suffered in the slump in bicycle sales have announced that in March they will close their factory at

Smethwick which turns out their scooters and mopeds. Fifteen hundred people will probably lose their jobs.

Perhaps this only amounts to a recession from which the stricken industries will soon recover. But there are enough of them in trouble now to cause fear that it is more serious than that.

Capitalism is still a system of ups and downs. Its spells of relative prosperity cannot have any permanent value. Workers should not wait until they are on the dole queue before they learn the truth of this.

### Lib-Lab?

It is early days yet for the Labour Party seriously to consider an alliance with the Liberals. Mr. Gaitskell still has enough hope of becoming Prime Minister in his own right to explain his description of Mr. Woodrow Wyatt's suggestion of a Lib.-Lab. link-up as "silly."

It is safe to assume, though, that the suggestion finds rather more favour among the Labour Party members who are getting sick of being on the losing side. If the Tories give them one or two more drubbings at the polls, anything could happen.

Nothing new in this, of course. The Labour governments of 1924 and 1929 blamed their alliance with the Liberals for their failure to run capitalism. They swore that they would never again allow their hands to be so tied.

But having the 1945 government to themselves made no difference—the Labour Party failed again. The best that some of them can now suggest is to revive the idea of a Liberal alliance—which they themselves told us was discredited by the events of 1924 and 1929.

There is nothing surprising in this. The Labour Party do not exist to propound political principles. Like any other capitalist party, they are out first of all for power.

This goes for the Liberals as well. They have made it plain that they would only consider an alliance which was worth their while in terms of Members of Parliament.

All good, clean, cynical fun this. May we be excused if we do not see anything to laugh at?

## DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Sunday 7.30pm

HEAD OFFICE, 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, SW4

Details page 16

## THE NEWCOMERS

If you were living in one room with seven children and another on the way, what would you do about it? This was the problem which confronted a family of Irish immigrants in Paddington, not long ago. The mother tried to solve it by visiting an abortionist, but the operation was a drastic failure and she died.

This sad, and true, story spotlights some of the problems which face the immigrants who have been pouring into Britain over the past decade. Why do they come? Post-war expansion in this country has created a demand for a lot of workers. At the same time over a million people have emigrated from this country since the war. The labour shortage has been felt particularly keenly in hospitals, catering and public transport, all industries which pay badly and involve awkward shift work. For the employers, the problem is more than one of mere shortage. Sometimes these industries have been near cracking point, a situation which workers can use as a lever when they are trying to increase their pay or improve their working conditions.

In Ireland, Cyprus, India, Pakistan and the West Indies are large armies of surplus labour all seeking employment, higher living standards and the much vaunted attractions of big city life in a heavily industrialised country. For them, Britain must seem something like a land of milk and honey. Never mind that some Irish and Cypriots have spilt blood in Nationalist struggles against British rule—economic necessities override such ironies. So they come over and cram themselves into the slums of the big cities. Paddington is only one example of an area where developing industry's need for workers has succeeded in pouring a quart of humanity into the pint pot of accommodation—and still has room to spare!

The influx of overseas workers can change the face of any town. Accents and brogues are as common in some parts now as broad Yorkshire or Cockney used to be. This has brought its problems, of course; apart from the revival of colour bias there is the mammoth of all social headaches—housing. This problem is an old favourite on election manifestos, old even when Kilburn and Moss Side were pure white and largely Anglo-Saxon. The immigrants have increased the problem simply because they have increased the number of workers who are seeking the unobtainable.

The coloured immigrants find that the housing problem seems to revolve around them because they are so easily noticeable in a white community. (Although one town in the Lea Valley is restricting Italians from local employment). This is a familiar story, which we have heard before from many other countries. The immigrants are poor and therefore tend to flock together in cheap, decaying areas. Here they are forced to struggle for social acceptance in the teeth of opposition from workers who are already established in that particular piece of slumdom. The wealthier few buy houses often with loans from firms which stand well outside the established and recognised building societies. As the interest on such loans is high, the borrower can only ensure his profit by letting every available room angle at the highest possible rent. It is a good market to be in.

There seems to be no end to the folk seeking somewhere to sleep and to store their suitcase of worldly possessions. Friction grows as "white" tenants (in time it will be "coloured" ones as well) are edged out to make room for more profitable lodgers. So the process goes on: "human little fleas on bigger fleas and so *ad infinitum*."

In fact, bad housing is simply one aspect of working class poverty. This is the explanation for the slums, the acres of out of date, badly neglected and overcrowded houses which are kept that way so that the income from rent exceeds any

expenditure on them. What does it matter, whether such hell holes are occupied by English workers or those from abroad? A sane society would not have the things at all.

This is the sort of point which is ignored by so-called remedies like the Immigration Bill. The Tories must be aware that many workers have a colour bias—any move to conciliate the white voters is good political strategy. Again, perhaps the government calculate that membership of the Common Market may provide some of the labour which British industry needs, or perhaps they feel that the need has been met. After all, the most astute economist cannot tell when an economic blizzard may create a large force of unemployed. The discrimination in favour of Irish workers is not the outcome of soft-heartedness. Eire has a lot of unemployment and if nothing is done to skim this off, there may be political unrest in that country. And British capitalism cannot afford an unsettled Ireland, nor one which is tied politically and economically to some powerful continental enemy. So Ireland must be placated.

It is doubtful if even the government think that their Bill will solve the problems of immigration. Workers have to sell their labour power and they have to live near the available markets for it. Shipping clerks and foundry men, for example, cannot live in the beauty of the Quantock Hills or the Ring of Kerry. Sometimes, they must travel to reach the labour market. And when they do, they usually meet snags just like the ones they left back home. This has been the experience of the Puerto Ricans in New York, the Algerians in Paris, the Pakistanis in Southall, the British in Canada and Australia.

Bawling out "Keep Britain White," or perhaps "Keep Kenya Black" will not help matters. There are plenty of organisations to make our flesh creep with stories about leprosy, allegedly introduced by West Indians, sweeping through Manchester. But to support them means that we only saddle ourselves with the political neurosis of a New Hitler.

No, the working class must do better than that. We must aim for a world in which men and women are truly free and can move over the earth as they like without meeting economic hardship or racial prejudice and violence. Until that happens, the reformist tinkering will continue to blunt themselves against an insoluble problem. Whilst capitalism lasts, the hardships of the working class will follow them all over the world. That is the lesson they must learn. There is no hiding place down here.

JACK LAW.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass



# THE COMMON MARKET | SPECIAL SURVEY

## 1 THE BACKGROUND

A SHIVER of apprehension is running through the national press as cabinet ministers and captains of industry set about the task of preparing the public for what to expect if Britain's application to join the Common Market should be accepted. Mr. Macmillan calls it "a bracing cold shower we shall enter, not a relaxing Turkish bath" and one of the industrial bosses thinks it will rather be "an iced channel swim at nought degrees Centigrade." Prophecy is dangerous, but the chances are that within 15 months from now this country will be part of the European Economic Community.

What reasons do the British ruling class put forward for having to join the Common Market? Why should Britain shift the traditional centre of gravity of her economy from the Commonwealth to Europe? Why should she wish to wind up the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) she had only recently been instrumental in creating? And what effects will this have upon the British working class?

Weakened and impoverished by the ravages of World War II, the rump of continental Europe lay prostrate in front of the Iron Curtain, useless to the bloc of Western powers dominated by the United States of America as a profitable market, useless in the game of power politics as a defence against the rival bloc grouped around the Soviet Union. Only an economically healthy Europe would offer reasonable guarantees of safety to the American world of finance and industry. And so from the dust and ashes there arose new life, frantic activity, a giant mesh of scaffolding throughout Western Europe, factories, banks, stores, communications shot up at breakneck speed—financed by a massive programme of American aid and investment. The Marshall Plan "of which the sole condition was that the countries of Europe must band together and agree upon a joint recovery programme."

British industrialists watched with consternation ultramodern plant swinging into action across the channel. But with both the home market and the Commonwealth, with its established system of preferential duties, crying out for manu-

factured goods after the shortage and wastage of the war years, profits were still secure in spite of outdated plant and methods.

Powerful vested interests were haunted by the fear of a resurgent Germany, the spectre of Krupp and Thyssen—the giants of the Ruhr and the power behind the expansionist militarism both of Prussia and Nazi Germany. German industry was not to be permitted to swallow all the plums in the new Europe. Markets, capital, labour and raw materials were to be divided fairly between the power groups. By 1953 the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was a going concern comprising the coal and steel industries of Federal Germany, France, Italy and Benelux (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg). The Origins of the Common Market

There was one weak link; Belgian coal was too expensive. Throughout the mining belt across the south of Belgium mines were shut down and miners were out of work in their thousands. But the Belgian mine owners had been helped over the critical period with massive subsidies from the international High Authority administering ECSC. Capitalism had pulled a new card from its sleeve. For coal and steel, ECSC meant larger markets, bigger production, better exploitation of capital and labour, fewer irksome administrative barriers, discriminations and quotas. Why not extend the idea to the economy as a whole?

By March, 1957, there was signed the Treaty of Rome which launched the six participants in ECSC on the road towards the Common Market. Its object was:

To permit goods to travel freely without Customs Duties or quota restrictions, throughout the area of the Six and thus to permit manufacturers to invest on the scale that modern technology makes possible and necessary.

Customs duties between the Six were to be whittled down progressively in three successive phases of four years each. At the same time a uniform external tariff wall was to be erected around the Six. Allowance was made for differences between the Six in terms of industrial

development and efficiency or productivity, for differences in wage levels between member countries. It was obvious that the impact of a progressive crumbling of Customs duties would have serious effects on certain industries and even countries. To soften the impact the Six adopted a device successfully tried out by the Benelux countries from the start of their Customs Union almost immediately after the last war—a Compensation Tax. Being flexible, this tax can be used to ensure, in the interest of the ruling class of the Six as a whole, that individual national groups of an industry do not cause too much of a disturbance in any specific field.

Big industry and banking seized the opportunity with both hands; American capital poured into the Six. Displaced Persons, human flotsam, waiting to be employed as cheap labour, were overflowing in German refugee camps. Italy, where starving millions were considered a potential communist threat, had been given a major blood transfusion of U.S. dollars and was starting a massive programme of industrialisation with huge reserves of agricultural labour waiting to be drawn off the land in Southern Italy and fed onto the new industrial treadmill.

Developments were rapid. Before the end of the first four-year period the programme of whittling down of Customs Duties had been exceeded by 18 months. Inter-Common Market tariffs are now 30 per cent. below their 1957 level and may be 50 per cent. down by the end of this year. The process may be completed by 1965 if not before.

In the meantime the British ruling class was taking only a modest interest in the Common Market. How modest will be seen from the fact that that even as late as 1960 British private direct investment within the Six (excluding oil and insurance) amounted to no more than £21 million as compared with £208 million invested in the Sterling Area outside the United Kingdom during the same period. In a good many fields British industry was not even interested in exports of any kind. These were the people who could sell all they could manufacture in the home market behind the cover of a high protective tariff wall and in the

expectation that the halcyon days were here to stay. Their plant was being amortized at a comfortable rate and foreign competition could not touch them. To break into the fiercely competitive outside world meant hard work, expense, lower profit margins. Why bother?

But in the Commonwealth things had been happening. Preferential treatment of British goods had disappeared under a great many headings in the Customs Tariffs of Commonwealth countries which are fast building up a market for their products in Europe.

Nonetheless certain Commonwealth countries, notably New Zealand, still depended largely on the British market for their livelihood and raised vociferous objections to any thought of a British commitment with the Six unless their special interests were safeguarded.

Powerful British interests also disliked intensely the possibility of a political entanglement with the Six.

It was all too complicated. Couldn't the remaining uncommitted countries of Europe (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Portugal) be brought into some form of association

more to the liking of the British ruling class, without the embarrassment of political implications and interference with existing Commonwealth trade? Their 97 million people (including the United Kingdom) would not compare with the home market of 170 millions of the Six, but it was better than nothing. And it would strengthen Britain's hand in any later approaches to the Six. Thus was born the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) or "The Seven." Finland has since joined making EFTA "The Eight." Its purpose was to be strictly limited to the progressive reduction of Inter-EFTA Customs Duties and quantitative restrictions.

Now the prospect of an enlarged Common Market of 250 million people or more discriminating against U.S. goods is beginning to alarm the American capitalists. Already pressure groups are at work promoting a direct U.S. participation in the Common Market. This, to quote the Herter report, "with its highly developed industrial and technological complex and its disciplined workers, would comprise the most efficient workshop in the world" where since 1958 trade among the Six had risen by about

50 per cent. . . .

What is involved in the British application to join the Six, for industry and finance, and what does it mean to the British working class?

If agreement should not be forthcoming, British industry could well find itself faced across the Channel with a fast-expanding, highly efficient and ultramodern competitor of great striking power. Many British manufactured products may disappear from the markets of the world which would entail a major re-alignment of industry. The usual flow of capital from the weak to the strong will be accelerated. The harder it became to export finished goods, the more British capital might have to seek investment abroad for overseas manufacture, albeit in return for smaller profits.

Designed to fit the present requirements of Western capitalist society, the Common Market has, like any other capitalist institution, no permanence. It will be discarded when it ceases to be profitable. To the British worker it reinforces the constant threat for the worker under capitalism of insecurity and unemployment.

TISSERAND.

## 2 THE INDUSTRIAL POWER

AN INVESTMENT of £2,000 million was the figure recently suggested as necessary for the setting up of an international scientific research centre in Berlin. In the same newspaper the British Electricity Council announced its intention to spend £947 million on generating stations in the next four years. The British Motor Corporation spent £10 million in launching one model—the Austin 7/Minimino.

In themselves, these three examples have no direct connection with the emergence of the "Common Market." They are, however, pointers to the scale of modern capitalism. Huge investment and massive production plants are the order of the day. A small sheet steel mill would be economically and technically ridiculous in 1962. Modern plastics, too, such as polythene or nylon, must be produced in vast automatic plants. It is the same story with petrol refining, aircraft production, coal mining, chemicals, shipbuilding, rocket research, and so on; and this matter of size is the real force that has brought the European Economic Community into existence.

E.E.C. is a perfect demonstration of Marx's statement that capitalism is neither a stable nor a permanent social system. It is driven to expand under the

compulsion of inexorable economic laws, gearing up science and engineering to the ever-increasing demands of capital, and forcing human and social relationships into new and arbitrary patterns.

In Europe, particularly, the pressure on national boundaries and sovereignties has been intensifying since the first World War, when Europe started to fall behind America in the race for industrial production and exports. The retention of national units seriously weakened the European capitalists in their struggle for a share of the world's trade; and since the second World War, which can be seen from one point of view as a German attempt to unite Europe under its rule, it has become obvious that, individually, the European nations are puny and backward by comparison with the American and Russian federations.

E.E.C. is, in fact, very far from being a "good idea" formulated by European politicians; it is a belated and reluctant acknowledgment of the expanding scale of investment, production and trade.

### Steel

Significantly, the first step in the industrial unification of Europe was the setting

up of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. Coal is still by far the most important industrial fuel, and steel the overwhelmingly dominant metal. Furthermore, the holdings in both industries were already concentrated in a few large blocks, making negotiations relatively simple.

The occupying Allies had limited German steel output to 11m. tons a year. When the restriction was lifted, W. German production rose rapidly to reach 34m. tons in 1960, bringing the total for the Community to 73m. tons. Their exports are co-ordinated in a cartel known as the Brussels Entente handling two-thirds of the world's steel exports—formidable competition for the British Steel Federation!

Nevertheless, in these boom years for steel, British exports have doubled in the past ten years, and the industry has gone ahead with large development plans at Corby and Margam and Llanwern. A large fraction of this increased capacity is for sheet steel in anticipation of a continued increase in demand from the motor industry. These "strip" mills are barely an economic proposition at under a capacity of a million tons a year. Building a new one is therefore a big



step, but unless it strides at this rate the British industry must fall out of the race. The real testing time will come when the boom is over. Then the weight of the Brussels Entente will be decisive.

Unless the British Iron and Steel Federation can break into the European group it can be out-produced and out-priced. Even if it does, the proposed merger between Phoenix and Thyssen in Germany would dominate the group. Indeed, the British steel industry might even be prepared to submit to re-nationalisation in order to wield sufficient power.

#### Coal

It is a starker version of the same picture with regard to the older and less efficient coal industry. Already a number of Belgian coal mines have been closed down as being uneconomic in competition with German coal. In this country the average rate of profit from coal mining was so low that there was never any real alternative to nationalisation. The National Coal Board, like the true capitalist concern that it is, is to close 15 Scottish pits, involving 5,000 men, next year as part of the attempt to wipe out its £21 million deficit for 1960. It has closed a large number of pits which are unprofitable by modern standards, and the total deficit for Scottish mines is now estimated to have reached £100 million. Contrary to popular belief, the Coal Board does not exist to produce coal, but to produce profits; and so it must cut its losses.

It must do more than this: until now it has been protected from serious foreign competition (even the Steel Company of Wales was prevented from importing cheap American coal); it must reverse the steady shrinkage of exports if it is to survive. They dropped from £61 million in 1950 to £28 million in 1960, largely through uncompetitive prices. By cutting the labour force (by 20,000 in 1961) and by a costly programme of capital investment (£97 million in 1961-2) productivity has been raised from 3.2 tons per man-shift in 1950 to over 4.1 tons last year. The National Coal Board claims that it is introducing automatic machinery faster than is being done anywhere else in the world, and that real automation, in the form of robot coal-cutting machinery which seeks out the coal for itself, will be operating in a British mine before the end of 1962. In a Commons debate on the coal industry on October 24th, 1961, the Minister of Power, Mr. Wood, said that: "It was too early for him to forecast the precise effect of membership of the Iron and Steel Community, but it was felt that it would benefit both the NCB and the consumer. This would automatically con-

fer benefit to those working in the industry." (*The Guardian*, 25/10/61.)

The attitude of British coal miners towards this statement is not easily available; but, since their numbers have dropped from over 1,000,000 in the 1920's to 560,000 in 1961, it is doubtful whether they feel so optimistic about Britain's entry into the "Common Market," because, whatever else it involves, it certainly means more ruthless exploitation of every man.

On November 7th, 1961, the *Financial Times* published a four-page supplement on the Gas Industry, showing that like the National Coal Board its production and sales had risen while its labour force had been cut by 20,000 in ten years. The Chairman of the Gas Council, Sir Henry Jones, wrote of "gas established again as a growth industry" in spite of the fact that the number of gasworks has been cut from 1,050 in 1949 to 378. During this period gas production has remained fairly constant at about 2,200 million therms per annum, which means that the whole industry has been made considerably more profitable under nationalisation.

#### Gas

The fact is that many new possibilities have opened up for the gas industry in recent years. It has maintained its strong links with the coal industry, especially with the introduction of the Lurgi process of complete gasification of coal without leaving coke. In addition, however, it is becoming more and more tightly wedded to the oil companies. Apart from the gasification of heavy fuel oil, such as is being carried out by the South Eastern Gas Board at the Isle of Grain works, American oil companies are offering shipments of cheap liquefied petroleum gas and of naphtha. The British Gas industry, however, has at present concentrated on its decision to import shipments of natural methane from the Sahara. This touches the question of E.E.C. very closely because the French are reported to be undertaking the construction of a pipeline from Algeria across the Mediterranean to provide gas for a grid-system throughout the E.E.C.

For the British industry one of the main advantages of being linked to such a system would be the ironing out of fluctuations in demand during the day and, to some extent, during the year. France and Germany already have large underground storage facilities for manufactured gas so that summer production may be saved for heavy winter consumption. In one way or another it looks as though the capital invested in the British gas industry could show considerably

greater profit and expansion by being linked with Europe.

#### Electricity

The British Electricity Authority is the most profitable of all the nationalised industries, having made a gross profit of £18 million in 1960-61; but there is further profit to be made by linking itself with the continent to meet future increased demand.

Apart from its own considerable expansion and storage schemes, the Annual Report of the Electricity Council mentioned the fact that "... the cross-channel link with Electricité de France would be coming into commission soon. Because of the difference in the incidence of peak demand in the two countries, 160MW of load could be transferred in either direction with savings to both parties." This is an arrangement which has been carried through independently of negotiations among politicians about E.E.C. and demonstrates that, however British hearts may feel about loss of national sovereignty and all that, the industrial ties with Europe are strengthening every day.

Ample proof of this last point is given in a report from Turin by Gordon Wilkins in *The Observer*, November 5th, 1961:

"More British cars may have Italian built bodies as a result of discussions held here this week. One leading British body designer told me it may even prove economical to import Italian-made bodysheils into England, especially if Britain joins the Common Market... Pininfarina are making the convertible bodies for the new French Peugeot 404. Bertone are sending coupé bodies to Germany for N.S.U. and B.M.W. Vignale, who have been building a Triumph TR3 body for the Italian market, are planning a TR4 coupé for export. The agreement between Rootes and Carrozzeria Touring for assembly of their cars in Italy may be the forerunner of others... Ghia are doing bodies for the Austin-Healey Sprite, and the latest registration figures show how much the British Motor Corporation have gained by having the A40 built under licence by Innocenti."

In the same way, Alfa Romeo build the Renault Dauphine under licence, while "Italy's enormous Fiat interests have car-assembly plants in Belgium and Germany, and expansion plans amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds will put them in all six nations" (*Readers' Digest*, July, 1961).

In the metal-using industries motor car manufacture today makes by far the

greatest use of mass production and costly automation. It is true that a few small specialist firms still persist among the giants; but million-pound firms like Standard have been shown to be too small to remain independent in the mass market amongst the large federations. Their average rate of profit is too low. Only ruthless standardisation and wider and wider markets can make profitable the immense outlay of constant capital. Now, in Europe national tariffs are preventing the giants from coming properly to grips with one another, as they must, for the dividing up of the market; and so they add their weight to the breaking down of these barriers.

#### A Crisis

Commentators on the emergence of E.E.C. have said repeatedly that industrial companies will have to "think big" to meet the new situation. Like most of the talk in the press and broadcasting, this masks the real picture. They imply that E.E.C. offers new opportunities for expansion. The truth is much more sombre. Certainly, the Common Market began while Europe was still booming; but if there had been unlimited markets for all there would have been no need

for a Common Market.

The truth is that the average rate of profit has been steadily falling, owing to the enormous rate of capital accumulation (these huge investments in production plants that have been mentioned); and the European Common Market is not a fraternal gathering but a battle ground. The survivors in this new phase of European capitalism, therefore, will be the ones who are already big.

In the fields dealt with, however—coal, steel, gas, electricity and motor cars—the majority of small competitors have already been ousted in each European country: they are not available to be sacrificed when the competition becomes merciless. As early as October, 1961, the *Daily Express*, which has always put out propaganda for Empire and against Britain's overtures to E.E.C., began to make great play of the fact that the current boom in Europe was falling off, insisting that therefore Britain should not join.

But these are precisely the conditions under which Britain will be forced to join, in order to give its giant capitalist undertakings chance to survive by overpowering weaker giants in Europe. Of course, there is no certainty that British capital will come out of it less bruised than its competitors, and this is the reason for all the uncertainty and haggling. The

### 3 THE WORKERS' POSITION

WRITING IN DECEMBER we still do not know whether the British Government will enter the European Common Market, or whether their conditions for entry will prove unacceptable to the six countries already in. And if the outcome is that Britain becomes a member, no-one yet knew what special arrangement may be made for the Commonwealth and Colonial territories, nor what the Scandinavian and other European countries may decide to do in this new situation.

All of these uncertain factors have a bearing on the effect that joining the Common Market will have on particular industries and firms and on workers' jobs.

Some British workers will find their occupations gone through redundancy and will have to seek a job in another industry or in another place, perhaps across the Channel.

Unions in printing, entertainment and tailoring are among those that have expressed fears about jobs, or wages, or the incursion of workers from other Common Market countries looking for work here.

But in some industries the expectation

is that prospects would improve for the firms centred in Britain, and the workers whose jobs may in consequence be made more precarious will be those now working in one of the Common Market countries. Among the industries in which this may happen are engineering, motor car manufacture and chemicals. Mineworkers have also been encouraged by the Coal Board to believe that more British coal would be sold and that employment prospects in the coal industry here would improve.

Sometimes the forecasters who tell workers what they think will happen are not trade union leaders but employers. The British Employers' Confederation issued a statement that entry to the Market would make wage increases out of the question unless preceded by increases in productivity. (*Financial Times*, 8/8/61); and Lord Chandos, chief of Associated Electrical Industries, who spoke in favour of Britain's entry, told his fellow members of the House of Lords (3/8/61) that the consequent sharper competition and other changes "will impinge upon the workers... very much more than on the employers. This

greatest giants of all, the major oil companies and the largest of the steel and chemical firms, can only gain in the long run. But, of course, they are already international organisations. The emergence of the European Economic Community is the political admission of the economic fact that a sufficiently great change in quantity has become a change in quality.

The icy winds of competition occasionally referred to are spoken of lustily as though they are to be a tonic for our health. Members of the working class hearing such windy talk on television "reports" may even be persuaded that it will be a "good thing" if some of the industrial "inefficiency" is to be "weeded out." They can only be thus tempted into forgetting their own position as workers as long as they persist in believing that all this production is carried on in capitalism for the purpose of supplying people's needs.

The Socialist knows that it is not so. He also knows that whichever capitalists turn out to be the winners in the growing struggle, workers can only expect to suffer in the upheaval and to be more thoroughly exploited in the future, whether they call themselves Britons or "Europeans."

S. STAFFORD.

kind of thing will make the 'wild-cat' strike, the demarcation dispute, and shorter hours with less work at lower productivity an impossible luxury." He instanced Coventry as a place where the motor workers would not be exhilarated to see a flood of Italian and French cars, or Italian workers coming here for jobs.

As would be expected, when manufacturers and traders ponder the case for joining, it is not the workers' comfort they have in mind except in the sense that the "European cold wind of change" may help them to discipline British workers, or so they think.

(*Financial Times* 24.7.61.)

Workers worrying about these chilling prophecies are mostly upsetting themselves to no purpose. Of course, they may find themselves out of a job or faced with an employer's refusal to give a wage increase, or see their employer unable to stand up to competition. But these are things that will happen anyway; they happen all the time and all over the place, not just in the Common Market.

The end of 1961 gave us news of redundancy and short time in the motor car industry: notice that 15 Scottish coal



mines will be closed in 1962, affecting 5,000 workers; the forthcoming closure of the De Havilland aircraft factory at Christchurch, Hants, with 2,000 men looking for jobs in an area which depended heavily for employment on the firm; and Courtaulds closing down one of the British Enka plants which it recently bought, so that nearly 4,000 people at Aintree, Liverpool, are expected to lose their jobs.

### Unemployment

And those who think that the Common Market will end the workers' troubles are equally in error. Their argument is on the lines that a great home market of 170 million people is a guarantee of efficient production, steady marketing, high wages and secure employment. But the U.S.A. also has 170 million people and recently had over five million unemployed and in the depression years of the nineteen 'thirties had unemployment ranging at times up to 10 million and even 15 million.

Within the past few years America has seen its motor car industry and steel at times in the doldrums, with tens of thousands unemployed. And there is no reason to suppose that the Common Market will escape the kind of regional or local bad trade that can exist in all countries, the United States included.

Though at present Germany has very little unemployment, Italy, one of the partners in the Common Market, has about 1,350,000 unemployed or nearly 7 per cent., and it has never averaged less than that figure in the past 10 years.

### Immigration

The Common Market aims at unfettered movement of workers throughout the area, but in practice it will probably be long before it becomes effective, and various hindrances of movement will exist even then. There are no legal barriers in the way of the movement of workers within Great Britain, but that does not prevent unemployment being persistently heavy in one district and light in another, one per cent. in the London and South Eastern Region and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  times as heavy in Northern Ireland. Housing is a big factor in this. And as was recently pointed out by the *Times*, even if the movement of workers in the Common Market were completely free already (which it is not), "differences in wages and conditions are not sufficient to induce many workers to seek employment in a strange country. The only likely movement of any size would be from countries where there is a substantial

unemployment, which at present means Southern Italy."

Figures published in July, 1961, showed that there were 200,000 Italians working in Germany along with much smaller numbers from many other countries, making a total of 470,000 immigrant workers.

We hear much about the workers' reactions to the incursions of immigrants, but the employers have a problem too. When workers leave their home town it enables those who stay behind to put more pressure into their struggle for higher wages. German employers welcome Italian immigrants, but it looks different to the Italian factory owners.

Some factory owners complain about the fact that agents of German or Swiss employers stand outside their factory gates offering contracts to workers as they finish their shifts.

### Trade Unions

No particular difficulty should arise in the trade union field. Though British rank and file trade unionists have mostly not been as much aware of international organisation and its problems as Continental workers, the union officials and executives have often had long and fairly close contact with Continental unions, particularly through their own Internationals (Miners, Transport workers, Post office workers, Agricultural workers, Printers, etc., etc.).

This is not to say that unions will easily forget their nationalist prejudices, but at least they will get used to working together in day to day matters on a European basis. Still less does it mean as claimed by Ludwig Rosenberg, Deputy Chairman of the German Trade Union Federation, that formation of the European Common Market is an expression of the fact that "international co-operation and solidarity beyond national frontiers are among the basic aims of the Labour movement throughout the world."

The grouping of small units into a larger one, with one of its objects to stand up industrially, commercially (and militarily) against other world blocs no more depends on an "international" outlook than did the forging of unity in the 19th century in Italy or the German customs

union which lead to German unity, though it does achieve the breakdown of the narrower isolations and prejudices. Certainly it should be easier for workers in all of the Common Market countries to avoid being played-off against each other in the name of the "national interest."

### Wages

Opinions differ about the complex question of comparing wages in this country with those on the Continent. What is true of one industry or country may not be true of another, but, for what it is worth the *Times* recently gave the following summary of comparative pay and conditions in the Common Market countries:

Their wages are still probably lower, but not very much so except in Italy and to a lesser extent the Netherlands, but they are rising more rapidly. Their hours worked are shorter, though the working week in some cases is still longer. They get more paid holidays. They devote a higher proportion of their national income to social security. Their occupational training schemes are probably mostly better. At the present rate of progress, Britain looks like becoming a backward country by European standards, before many years have gone.

For many years, ever since German industry got on its feet again after the war, British politicians and business men have told the British workers that they should model themselves on the hard-working, thrifty, non-striking German workers, who from the German employers' point of view were exemplary. This idea has helped a little to colour the views of many employers in favour of getting inside: but perhaps they were wrong after all.

Last November it was being discovered by German business men and economists that the German worker was up to the same tricks as British workers, taking advantage of low employment to push up wages. The *Financial Times* diagram published on November 22nd, showing wages forging ahead of output per hour and of employers' sales receipts referred to German workers, but it might easily have been taken for an article about British workers any time in the post-war years.

This should not surprise anyone. The European Common Market is not a different kind of capitalist entity—only a larger one. Whether the British Government goes in or not, British workers should be looking to promote their own Socialist working class unity with workers everywhere, not just in Western Europe.

## Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

Write to SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, for free leaflets to distribute in your T.U. Branch

## 4 AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE MAY NOT be the most important problem for Britain in its negotiations over the Common Market but it is certainly going to be one of the trickiest.

Nor should it be forgotten that agriculture has been causing a great deal of trouble within the Common Market itself. Only recently, France declared that she would veto any fresh moves on the industrial front until West Germany showed more enthusiasm for removing the barriers on the agricultural side. The motive, of course, was the usual one—France is keen to get a larger slice of the German market for her agricultural exports.

The fact that Denmark, another large exporter of foodstuffs, has also applied for membership of the Community will cause further complications. It will be interesting to see how all these conflicting interests are finally sorted out, if in fact they ever are.

### Britain

But there can be no doubt that British agriculture has plenty to worry over. Home farmers are overwhelmingly opposed to Britain going into the Common Market and have done their utmost to prevent it. There is equally no doubt that it is fear for their agriculture that has caused many Commonwealth countries to make such an outcry about Britain's application to join. But in this modern world of capitalism it is the interests of industry that call the tune and the Macmillan Government has gone on regardless of both farmers and Commonwealth.

British agriculture has good reasons to be wary of the Six. In the first place, in spite of all the efforts during and since the war to step up home production, the U.K. has still to import more than half its food. Most of these imports come from the Commonwealth—meat and dairy produce from New Zealand and Australia, wheat and coarse grains from Australia and Canada, and such things as fruit from all three. Much of this comes in at preferential tariff rates, though this benefit is not so important as it once was.

On the other hand, the Common Market is virtually self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Indeed, certain countries like France and the Netherlands are now actually piling up surpluses. France in particular, as a result of improved methods since the war, is rapidly coming to the point of crisis in the production of

some items, for which she is becoming desperate to find markets. Nor is the position going to improve since she has vast capacity to expand. By far the largest country in area (second only to Russia in Europe), and larger still in actually usable agricultural land, it has been estimated that with fully improved methods she could supply the whole of the Six with some products, notably wheat and beef. It is the fear that France may insist on supplying Britain with wheat that is causing Canada particular concern.

Both France and the Netherlands, and Denmark if she also joins, see Britain's entry into the Common Market as providing a welcome outlet for their agricultural exports. The British farmer takes a much less rosy view of the prospect.

His pessimism is made worse when he considers a further important difference between the way his products are sold compared with the Six. This is strange on the face of it because food prices are generally higher within the Six than they are in this country and this should apparently be to his advantage.

But the reality is not so reassuring. The reason why food prices are generally lower in Britain is because it has long been the policy of British governments to keep them down artificially. Their method of doing this has been to allow food to come into the country almost free of restriction and let prices find their own level irrespective of the fact that these prices are below those at which the home farmer can produce economically.

This policy if left unchecked would, of course, soon bring most British farmers to bankruptcy. To avoid this, the Government has regularly made up the difference between the farmers' general price and the imported price by means of subsidies. This difference is certainly not chicken-feed—it amounts to about £250 million a year, plus many more millions in the way of other payments to assist and improve their farming.

### The Six

This procedure is in marked contrast to the system in most countries of the Six, whose governments have been more inclined towards policies of keeping out foreign imports by means of tariffs and quotas. They have been able to do this mainly because they are largely self-sufficient in food and the result has been that though prices are higher they are at the

same time more closely related to the farmers' actual costs.

In practical terms, of course, the two systems boil down to essentially the same thing. All that happens is that the subsidies needed to help out the British farmer are found from extra taxation so that overall the amount actually received is near enough the same. But it has been an exceedingly useful method for the British capitalist class in keeping food prices stable and thus of helping to keep wages under better control. It was, of course, used to its greatest effect during wartime and in the critical period immediately afterwards.

The Six have already made it clear, however, that they will expect Britain to fall in with their system. It is also pretty obvious that the British Government will not in fact be unduly upset about this since whatever merits the subsidy system has had in the past it has been causing them a lot of headaches recently. They are particularly restive about the financial burden: assistance to be paid out to farmers is even higher than usual this year; enough to make them wonder whether the time hasn't come to have done with it altogether.

### Prices

If therefore Britain does join the Six a rise in food prices seems highly likely. Estimates about this vary from a shilling or two per head per week to something very much more, but the truth is that nobody really knows. One thing is certain, however, and that is that it would provide the Government with a wonderful opportunity to whittle down the effective buying power of wages at a time when the wind of competition within the Common Market was already making the British worker feel chilly.

Agriculture is notoriously a difficult subject to make forecasts about. Governments play about with it and it has always provided a voting lobby sufficiently powerful to make political parties commit themselves to all sorts of peculiar things to win farmers' support at election times. In addition, until the atomic bomb came along to make the question academic, capitalist governments everywhere have always had some regard for its importance in times of war. The fear of blockade has always been a bogey for them. One can never be certain, then, of what will happen when governments start talking about agriculture and even less certain when a group of their spokes-



men get round a conference table to bargain and horsetrade.

A few things can be said, however. It seems fairly certain, for example, that if Britain does go into the Common Market it will do so at the considerable expense of Commonwealth countries. Present indications are that whilst the Six may show some special consideration for New Zealand, whose economy is almost completely independent upon Britain taking all her meat products and butter, they will have little time for the claims of Australia and Canada who will have to start looking elsewhere for markets for their products. Australia has in fact already begun to do this and is now selling to China and Japan.

### Bigger Units

Agricultural interests in France and the Netherlands would gain from this, though Denmark will provide extra competition if she also joins. Italian horticulture will also be given a fillip since the hitherto heavily protected U.K. market seems almost certain to be made more accessible. It is hard to see anything other than a catastrophic effect upon British horticulture, in fact, unless the negotiators bring something remarkable

out of the bag. Expensively-heated glasshouses are no match economically for free sunshine and fast transport and can only have their existence in the mad world of capitalism.

But even more clearly than with industry, the future of European agriculture is going to reflect the inexorable drive of capitalism towards bigger units, mechanisation, and more economic production.

In Italy, 44 per cent. of the population are still dependant upon the land for their living. In France the proportion is 25 per cent. and even in Germany it is 15 per cent. The figure in Britain is 5 per cent.

All these countries are taking deliberate measures to get their peasants off the land and into the towns and factories, though economic forces themselves are probably doing the work more effectively on their behalf. Hundreds of thousands of small farmers are fated to leave their farms in the not far-off future and their land will be merged into larger holdings, revert to its natural state, or be transformed into state forests.

Even in this country the process is still going on. Many small farmers are only able to keep going because of their subsidies from the State. Each year still

shows a drop in the number of people getting their living from the land.

The Common Market, therefore, only throws into prominence a process which has been part and parcel of capitalism since its existence. In fact, the Common Market is itself a reflection of this process on the international field. The same impetus which forces firms to amalgamate within a country's boundaries now forces the countries themselves to look outside their boundaries.

### Surplus

But whilst the implications for industry of this process are great, for agriculture they are enormous. That is why all the negotiators at Brussels, whether they belong to Britain, the Six, Denmark, Ireland, or any other country with agricultural interests to protect, are going to talk tough and bargain hard.

And, very much in their minds and hanging darkly over all, is the shadow of surplus. Surplus in a world where half the population live near to starvation and another quarter not very much better.

And that for us is the real dark shadow over all this business of agriculture and the Common Market.

S. II.

## 5 THE COMMONWEALTH

It is going to be a trying time for our politicians. British capitalism has been forced, after much dithering, to face up to the harsh realities of its own world. No more can it ignore the increasing challenge to its position in a highly competitive world market, and the fact that the relatively easy markets of the British Commonwealth are no longer sufficient to offset this. As *The Observer* pointed out almost three years ago:

At the moment the Commonwealth accounts for nearly half our trade but it would be foolish to pretend that it offers anything like the growing market of Europe.

This must be a major consideration to our rulers, despite the high-flown claptrap which they have talked on occasions about "Commonwealth family of Nations." So Britain goes cap in hand to "the Six" and Tory Ministers make a flying tour of the major Commonwealth Countries in an effort to ride out the inevitable storm of protest which their decision has aroused.

Since the end of the Second World War in particular, successive Governments

have never tired of telling us how important it is that Britain should export more and more. So perhaps we may be forgiven if we have forgotten that Britain itself is a large and important market for goods coming from Canada, Australia and New Zealand, for example. And it is the fear of losing this which is behind the undignified squabbles which have taken place over the past few months.

### Canada

In a recent survey by *The Times* we read that "... there is an undoubted fear that by Britain's closer association with Europe, Canada is going to suffer in what is her second best market, especially in agricultural and chemical products as well as in a newly found market for her manufactured goods." So seriously do the Canadian capitalists view the prospects, that only on November 11th last, *The Observer* was able to report that relations between Canada and Britain on the Common Market issue were worse than at any time since preliminary negotiations began.

Over the other side of the world in New Zealand, there is near-panic at the threat of a shrinking market for primary products—lamb, wool, butter and cheese—in Great Britain. Understandably so from the viewpoint of the N.Z. farmers. Apparently fifty-seven per cent. of their total exports were sold in the United Kingdom in 1959. And more recently *The Dominion* (Wellington) asserted that some eighty per cent. by weight of N.Z. dairy products now go to the British Market. The remarks of Prime Minister Holyoake further emphasise with what trepidation the future is viewed; just listen to his words, reported in the *National Party Journal Freedom* for July, 1961:

It is no exaggeration to say that our dairy industry and our lamb production have been based on and are designed to serve the needs of the United Kingdom Market. They have been based on the idea that our expanding production could receive a full and remunerative outlet. Without it, the whole economic future of New Zealand is thrown out of balance.

Strong words indeed! And matched equally by those of leading government

spokesmen in nearby Australia. Their Common Market Communique issued on July 11th speaks of "... the serious adverse consequences for Australian producers and for the Australian balance of payments which would confront Australia if the United Kingdom were to enter the Common Market on a basis which failed to safeguard Australian trade interests for the future."

### Australia Looks Elsewhere

Wheat, meat, dairy products, base metals, sugar and fruits constitute the bulk of Australian exports to Britain and are currently valued at almost £200 million Sterling. The Minister for Trade, Mr. McEwen, has asserted that Britain is Australia's biggest market. So little wonder then, that there was such "full and frank" discussion with Mr. Duncan Sandys when he paid his visit a few weeks before.

But despite the forebodings of official

spokesmen, it does not seem that Britain's decision has taken the Australian Government completely by surprise. For some years now, attempts have been made to find alternative markets, and it is interesting to learn that Japan has now become the biggest buyer of Australian wool and a top-level buyer of many other important products. Trade with Japan in 1960 was worth £160 millions.

### Australia

In a press interview on last July Mr. Menzies admitted the great political implications of the Common Market. He has described it as possibly "a third power" in the world:

(But) we record our view that the Commonwealth will not be quite the same ... this will lead to a loosening of Commonwealth relations.

So where will they turn then? Might

there be just the possibility that yet "a fourth power" will emerge, embracing Australia, New Zealand and other far eastern States, and with Japan as a leading member? Does it sound too far fetched? Nothing should surprise us in a capitalist world. Canada in her turn could swing politically in favour of the U.S.A. if the tariff walls of the Common Market go up against her. She already has close economic links and American capitalists have large investments in Canada.

And for the workers of the Commonwealth? Well, there is one market which they have always had in common with their opposite numbers in every other part of the world, and that is the labour market. This basic fact will not, of course, be altered. They will remain workers facing the common problem of Capitalism—and how to get rid of it.

E. T. C.

## The Levellers 1640-1649

(continued from December issue)

Now firmly in the saddle, Cromwell set out to crush the Levellers. Laws were passed to suppress democratic expression. The inoffensive Diggers were ill-treated, heavily fined, and gradually driven away. In the main Parliament's programme ignored the worsening condition of the poor, abolishing only laws adverse to the rich. Rents, enclosures, and many other oppressions weighed as heavily as ever on those who laboured. One soldier wrote, "... it were as good to suffer under the king as under the keepers of the liberties of England; both maintaining the same thing ... the corrupt administration of law; treble damage for tithes; persecution for matters of conscience." Richard Rumbold put it more pithily when he said, "he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths and some few booted and spurred to ride the rest."

In April, 1649, Lilburne, Overton and Walwyn in the Tower overheard Cromwell say "... if you do not break them, they will break you." More soldiers were court-martialled and one faced the firing squad; a report of the times said thousands followed the body to Westminster. At a review in Hyde Park Cromwell resolved to reason with the men and lull them into acquiescence, promising the *Agreement* would be accepted, a new Parliament formed and arrears of money paid up. All this he agreed to—until the active elements were finally out of the way across the Irish Sea.

A little later, another rising fifteen hundred strong occurred in Burford. The Protector ordered his best troops out, arrived in the Cotswolds at midnight, attacked and captured all but two hundred of the sleeping men. These rode away and took Northampton, but were pursued and surrounded; three were shot outside Burford church. Those shots were the death knell of the Leveller movement. Without Parliament's demand for the overthrow of feudal rule they could not have functioned. They were of their time and yet before their time; they were far in advance in their shrewd enquiry into the structure of society.

Earlier revolts had looked for equality; John Ball had asked in 1381 "When Adam dived and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?"; in 1450 Jack Cade's men sang "The rich make merry but in tears the commons drown"; and Robert Kett of Norfolk had written in 1549, "we will rather take arms, and mix heaven and earth together than endure so great cruelty." All these risings had lacked understanding; now men were analysing and looking deeper. They had learned that justice lay not in a king's smile or a Protector's promises; it could not be begged but must be won by the people themselves demanding a voice in

political affairs. Unfortunately, the voice in affairs was reserved in the seventeenth century for the new merchant class.

While the Levellers were remarkably advanced in their views, their ideas did not drop from the sky ready made. For a hundred years the English people had been oppressed by low wages and harsh laws. Unable to pay the fearful taxes, peasants were evicted and turned into beggars, who when caught were hung in batches of twenty! Europe was stirring; new continents and islands had been mapped; tribes found who did not possess money or "own" land, yet were happy and virile, living in complete equality. Some of these strange beings lived on England's own doorstep. According to James Connolly up till 1649 the basis of society in Ireland was tribal ownership of land. The Irish chieftain was no hereditary king but a leader chosen by the clan.

The accounts related by explorers gradually led to new thinking about social relations. Thomas More's *Utopia* for example draws a picture of England in the early sixteenth century as she was and as she might have been. It was not quite so imaginary as some historians choose to see it.

Behind the Levellers lay a hundred years of discovery revealing other men living successfully in other social patterns; a hundred years of influence flowing from such works as Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1629); and a hundred years of rapine and savagery practised on helpless peasants—to show that a new society based on knowledge and equality was possible, and not merely a dream.

M. BROWN.

★ QUESTIONS OF THE DAY (1/3 post paid)



# THE PASSING SHOW

## What it Means

In *The Times* recently there was a reference to President Nasser's nationalisation policy, under the name of "Arab Socialism"; and on the same day (27/10/61) there was a report of a speech by the President of the Senegal Republic in which he referred to "the Negro-African form of Socialism." So much confusion is caused by reformist politicians in every part of the world wishing to masquerade under false colours that it



## MACHINERY

Machinery, says the Liberal, has deepened the working man's chest and increased his stature by shortening the hours of work. When he says 'shortened hours' we promptly ask 'compared with when?' and as promptly comes the answer: 'In comparison with the hours worked in the hungry forties', or 'when my grandfather was a lad'.

To compare present hours of work with the length of the working day in that transitional period when capitalism was in its birth throes (with the aim of extolling the difference), is an inane procedure.

Therold Rogers has shown the comparative leisure of the workers under the system of 'small production'—with that we need not deal. If we take our case at its worst and compare hours of work today with the hours toiled in the early years of capitalism, we find justification for our case. We find that side by side with the shorter working day has come a quicker pace, a more rapid rate of production, a faster consumption of working-class brain, nerve and muscle. Whether it be in the sphere of production—at lathe or loom, or in distribution on train, tram, or taxi, the working pace is fierce.

Even if we examine types of work where steam-power cannot be applied—office executive and the like—we find mechanical appliances such as calculating machines, typewriters, dictating appliances, etc., adding to the intensity of the workers grind.

From the  
SOCIALIST STANDARD, January 1912

was not surprising to read (in the same issue) the following report of a meeting of the so-called "Socialist International" (which is in fact a collection of Labour Parties):

A particularly able speech was made by a delegate from the Action Group of Nigeria, who, he said, had recently announced that they were going to embrace democratic socialism, and were now hotly discussing what that meant.

For the benefit of the Action Group of Nigeria, democratic socialism means nothing that socialism does not already mean. Socialism, being a system voluntarily entered into by society as a whole, and being without any coercive forces, is by definition democratic. In the same way, it is pointless to talk about Arab socialism or Negro-African socialism; one might as well talk about Birmingham Socialism or Tooting Socialism. Socialism is in its essence international, and knows nothing of racial or national differences.

All that is needed to complete the confusion is for the Labour Parties of the Common Market countries to join together and start talking about "Common Market Socialism."

## Apes

Reviewing a recent book (*African Genesis*, by Robert Ardrey) a *Sunday Express* writer triumphantly records the author's conclusions about monkeys and apes (22/10/61):

He shows clearly that their most powerful inborn drive is, first, for status; next, for territory (both family and tribal); and, only third, for sex. Thus such things in men as ambition, patriotism, and a yearning for a house of one's own are not—as many fashionable thinkers have tried to make us think—an artificial product of an artificial civilisation. They are natural and inborn, especially in the higher animals.

Even if, for the sake of argument, we accept what Ardrey says about apes, his premises clearly do not support his conclusions. It would only be possible to reason in this way if man was descended from the monkeys or the apes: but, in fact (although this may be news to the *Sunday Express*) no scientist has ever maintained that this is so. What all scientists do now maintain is that man and the other primates are descended from a common ancestor. So what has to be explained is why man has left all the other animals far behind, while the monkeys are still swinging in the trees. And if the main interests of apes are,

first, status, and second, grabbing more territory, that would go a long way towards accounting for the great gulf between man and monkeys. Men have developed in the way they have simply because they co-operated—they lived together amicably in tribes and owned property in common. As Engels says (in Chapter 2 of *The Origin of the Family*):

For man's development beyond the level of the animals, for the achievement of the greatest advance nature can show, something more was needed; the power of defence lacking to the individual had to be made good by the united strength and co-operation of the herd. To explain the transition to humanity from conditions such as those in which the anthropoid apes live to-day would be quite impossible; it looks much more as if these apes had strayed off the line of evolution and were gradually dying out or at least degenerating... Mutual toleration among the adult males, freedom from jealousy, was the first condition for the formation of those larger, permanent groups in which alone animals could become men.

## No satisfaction

Who said this? "There were literally thousands of jobs in industry which gave no satisfaction to the worker and never could... as a result among the great working class areas of the country" men were getting no "sense of fulfilment... from the tedium of their day-to-day jobs."

It was no Socialist, agitating for a new society: it was the head of the state-capitalist board which now runs the coal-mines—Lord Robens. He was speaking at the recent national conference of the Institute of Personnel Management. It would be difficult to think of a much stronger argument against our present form of society than this—that the workers get no sense of fulfilment from their jobs, which occupy so large and so central a part of their lives: yet here we have one of our leading operators of state-capitalism saying just that.

If Lord Robens really believes this, it is about time he thought of resigning his job and joining the Socialist Party, since that is the only way he can help to bring about a change in the situation.

ALWYN EDGAR.

## CORRECTION

In the article "Cuban Background" which we published in the *Socialist Standard* in January 1961, we stated that Batista first came to power in Cuba in October 1940.

This is incorrect. Batista first became President of Cuba in 1933, after leading an armed revolt.

We apologise for this mistake, and for our tardiness in correcting it.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## Self Service

THE SELF-SERVICE STORE, with which most of us are now familiar, has developed of recent years in response to the needs of Capitalism to reduce costs and increase sales. More people can get into the shop and out again, and at the same time buy more goods with less staff assistance than before. At the same time the high-powered retailing methods of modern Capitalism are used to the full. Everything is laid out to extract the maximum purchases from each buyer who enters the shop, right down to the little "likely to be forgotten extras" that are hung round the all-essential cash register as you pay your way out.

The purgative effect of sweet canned music on the pocket is used to release that loose change. If your memory is not so good, the psychologically timed repetition of a tape-recorded voice will remind you that whatever it is you are in dire need of, may be had at the toss

of a coin. And so on.

What has this to do with Socialism? Let us get back to that cash register. Next time you walk into your local self-service store, imagine that Socialism is here. You walk in, take up one of the little wire baskets provided and put into it the things you want. Nothing could be easier or more logical. Now try to walk out. Not so easy. The check-out counter is guarded by the owners' protection machine—the cash register.

This is where our little game ceases; no use imagining it is Socialism now. The act of paying for the things you have collected round the store, is the all-important factor that brings us back to reality, and makes the difference between Socialism and Capitalism.

The means for organising "free access" are here. All you've to do is remove that formality at the check-out.

I. D. J.

## SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

### Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept  
52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me

Socialist Standard  
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

## WEMBLEY PUBLIC MEETING

Monday 22nd January 8pm

## Why We Stand Alone

Speaker: E. Hardy

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Harrow Road, Wembley.

Opposite "The Fusilier", nearest stations,  
Sudbury Town (Piccadilly line), Wembley  
Central (Bakerloo line & B.R.) Buses 16, 18, 92, 662

## GLASGOW PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday 28th January 7pm

## AMERICA—LAND OF PARADOX

Speaker: GILMAC (London)

ST. ANDREWS HALL,  
Berkeley Street, Mid Hall, Door G

## HELP!

The work for Socialism can never stand still.

There are meetings to be arranged, pamphlets and leaflets to be produced, the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* to be got out each month. This is enjoyable work for the members who are engaged in it.

But it is also sometimes difficult work.

And the biggest difficulty is caused by lack of money.

We are planning more big indoor meetings.

We are in process of turning out two new pamphlets.

We are aiming at doubling the circulation of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* in the next twelve months.

All these activities are going to cost a lot of money.

So we are asking all our readers to help us by sending to our treasurer at Head Office as much as they can spare.

Day by day, capitalism itself is proving the urgency of propaganda for Socialism.

So this appeal is urgent, too. Please help.

## LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

### Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

## BRANCH NEWS continued from page 16

another for January 22nd, when Comrade Hardy will be the speaker. Full details elsewhere in this issue.

Like other branches, Wembley has a full programme of winter discussions and lectures. All members now regularly get a Newsletter giving all the information. So let's see you along there to take part. At the time of writing also, a discussion has been arranged with the North Wembley Young Liberals for December 29th. Subject "Immigration". Should be very interesting.

Wembley has maintained regular S.S. canvasses throughout the year and sales have been climbing gradually. They have now topped twenty dozen per month. Lack of manpower restricts efforts of course. This is where absent comrades can give a hand. Please contact the branch secretary for dates, times, etc, of future canvasses.

P. H.



**DOCUMENTARY FILMS**

Head Office, 52 Clapham High St.,  
SW4.  
Sundays 7.30 pm.

January 7th.  
**AFRICAN CONFLICT**  
Speaker: V. Phillips.

January 14th.  
**POVERTY & PLENTY**

January 21st.  
**CROSSROADS EUROPE**

January 28th.  
**THE GRIEVANCE**

February 4th.  
**ONE MAN'S STORY**

February 11th.  
**COME BACK AFRICA**

*The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.*

**HACKNEY LECTURE**  
Bethnal Green Town Hall, E2.

Wednesday, January 10th, 8 pm  
**WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE CND**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

**ISLINGTON LECTURE**  
Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Rd, N7.

Thursday, January 18th, 8 p.m.  
**RAILWAY FINANCE AND ORGANISATION**  
Speaker: J. Law.

**PADDINGTON LECTURES**  
The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesdays at 9 pm.

January 10th.  
**SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CINEMA**  
Speaker: C. Wilson.

January 17th.  
**OUR ATTITUDE TO TRADE UNIONS**  
Speaker: A. George.

January 24th.  
**FILM SHOW**

January 31st.  
**FREEDOM & NECESSITY**  
Speaker: P. Bryant.

## Branch News



It will be noted from the appeal for funds in this issue that the Party is making an all-out drive to double the circulation of the *Socialist Standard*—a well worth while aim and one that can be achieved by concentrated efforts on the part of Comrades and readers of the *Standard*. With this in view—if every reader of this month's issue completed the subscription form for 12 issues and sent the form with 8s. to Head Office—a very big step on the road will be taken. The Literature Committee will be more than happy to report in February that they are overwhelmed with subscription forms.

*Glasgow Branch* report well on their November propaganda meetings. The members of the Branch are an enthusiastic group and work well together and achieve first rate results. Apart from the Branch series of lectures, Comrade Donnelly addressed a Trade Union Branch and the Comrades are sending circulars to other Trade Union Branches offering to send a speaker to put the Party case.

Due to the energy of the W.S.P. of Ireland a visiting speaker, J. D'Arcy was able to hold a very successful meeting in Belfast on Thursday, December 7th. Despite bad weather conditions sixty people attended the meeting, some Party members travelling many miles to be there. A collection of £5 was taken and 30s. of literature was sold. Approximately one hour before the meeting, the W.S.P. of Ireland had managed to arrange for the speaker to appear on Ulster Television programme and in addition the details of the meeting being broadcast over the T.V. network. It was most useful as it gave us an opportunity to give a definition of Socialism in contrast to the policies of the Labour parties. It was also made clear that Socialism was a wage-less society. A very successful piece of organisation and propaganda carried out by the W.S.P. of Ireland who have in fact made history by getting our case broadcast, however briefly, we hope this will establish a precedent. In addition we were paid £4 4s. 0d. for the privilege. America, Canada television and Radio, now Ulster Television—speed the day when the case for Socialism can be broadcast on National channels at home and abroad.

*Wembley Branch* Annual Social was held on December 16th at South Ealing. A goodly collection of members and friends enjoyed an evening of eating, drinking and dancing. "Joe's Band" provided the music. The success of their first indoor public meeting has encouraged the branch to plan

continued page 15

**GLASGOW MEETINGS**

St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street,  
Room 2, Door G.  
Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt  
throughout the winter until April 29th.

**POWER POLITICS**

January 7th.  
**MIDDLE EAST POWDER KEG**  
Speaker: J. Richmond.

January 14th.  
**WHAT'S AT STAKE IN GERMANY**  
Speaker: J. Craig.

January 21st.  
**STRUGGLE FOR THE CARIBBEAN**  
Speaker: T. Jones.

January 28th.  
**AMERICA: LAND OF PARADOX**  
Speaker: Gilmac.

**THE SOCIALIST SEARCHLIGHT**

February 4th.  
**SEX, SOCIETY & SANITY**  
Speaker: J. Mulheron.

February 11th.  
**THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS**  
Speaker: R. Donnelly.

February 18th.  
**SPORT IN THE SICK SOCIETY**  
Speaker: D. Donaldson.

February 25th.  
**THE ORGANISATION MAN**  
Speaker: T. D'Arcy.

**LEWISHAM LECTURES**  
Davenport House, Davenport Road,  
Catford, SE6.  
Mondays at 8 pm.

January 22nd.  
**THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY**  
Speaker: J. D'Arcy.

**MITCHAM**  
The White Hart, Cricket Green,  
Mitcham, Thursday 18th January 8pm.  
**EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET**

**WEMBLEY LECTURE**  
Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Monday January 8th. 8 pm.  
**MODERN TRENDS IN ART**  
Speaker: M. Brown.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London. B.C.1

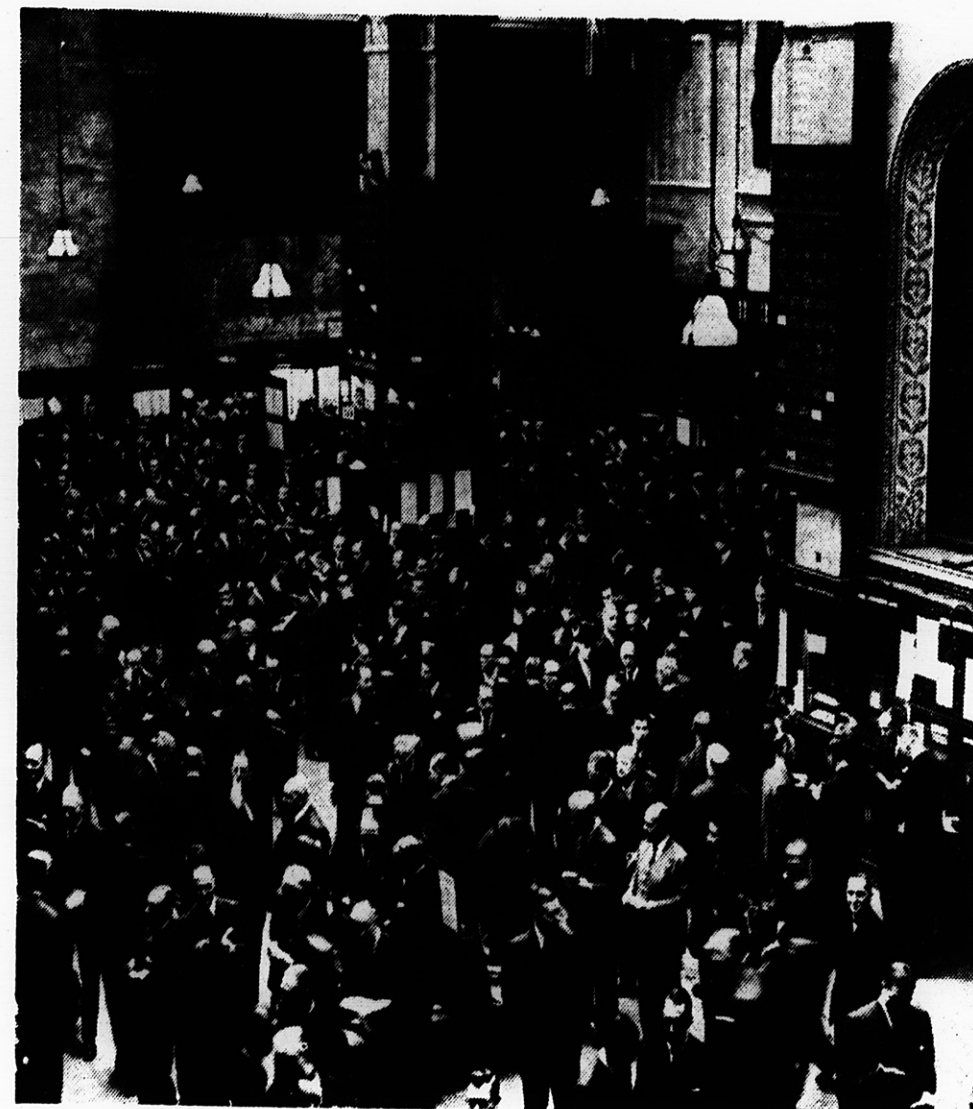
# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

Official Journal  
of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

FEBRUARY 1962/6d

## **MERGERS and TAKE-OVERS**

page 19



The Stock Exchange, London

### **ICI and COURTAULDS**

page 20

### **HOMELESS IN LONDON**

page 25

### **LAMBS TO SLAUGHTER**

page 22

### **WHO GETS PROFIT ?**

page 29

### **POST OFFICE WORK TO RULE**

page 27



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (1st & 15th Feb) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7, Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB, 26 Melawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 2nd Feb. at 7 Cyril Road, Boxley Heath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th Feb. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (12th Feb.) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (5th and 19th Feb) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**DORKING & DISTRICT** Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: Head Office: 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (14th Feb.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (12th Feb) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (26th Feb) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (5th and 19th Feb) in month 8 pm, The Crypt, St. Paul's. Correspondence: P. Mellor, 68 Bryn Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W13.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th and 22nd Feb) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th and 23rd Feb) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 15th Feb 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUSSEX** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

Wednesday 21st March

# MASS CENTRAL LONDON RALLY

Full details in March issue

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . .	20
Goa	
The Congo	
Mr. Macmillan	
ICI and Courtaulds	
THEY NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD IN 1860 . . . . .	21
LAMBS GOING QUIETLY TO SLAUGHTER . . . . .	22
A SLICE OF THE CAKE . . . . .	23
THE THIRTY YEARS WAR . . . . .	24
HOMELESS IN LONDON . . . . .	25
THE PASSING SHOW . . . . .	26
POST OFFICE WORK TO RULE . . . . .	27
GOD SPEAKS FOR CAPITALISM . . . . .	28
WHO GETS THE PROFIT? . . . . .	29
HERE AND THERE . . . . .	30
BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS . . . . .	32

## Mergers and Take-overs

The air is thick with rumours of mergers and tales of take-over bids. The past year has seen more company amalgamations than ever before and the pace has become even hotter during recent months.

Within the space of a few weeks ICI has made overtures to Courtaulds. Mr. Clore has tried hard to take Saxone into his shoe empire, Mullard and GEC have joined up to make transistors, and there may be a technical link-up in the car industry between BMC and Rolls Royce. There have been almost daily reports of other such link-ups among firms not so well known.

The same development is going on abroad. The proposed ICI-Courtaulds link-up was a direct reaction to the recent merger of the French giant Rhone-Poulenc with another big firm Celtex which made it into one of the most powerful firms in Europe in man-made fibres. The Mullard-GEC tie-up scotched rumours that Phillips of Holland were out to take over GEC (Mullard is the British subsidiary of Phillips and presumably the new arrangement will satisfy its appetite for the time being). All over the Common Market there are amalgamations, subsidiaries being formed, pooling arrangements being made to exchange technical know-how.

It is the Common Market that has had a lot to do with quickening up this process, of course. With Britain's application to join the Six the pressure is now hard on British industry to adapt itself more effectively to meet the challenge of European competition. British firms have been actively engaged for many months in getting footholds in Europe, setting up subsidiaries, and forming link-ups as hard as they can. Even the United States, which has been pouring money into Europe since the end of the war, has increased its activities during the past twelve months under the stimulus and threat of the Common Market.

In agriculture also the trend is towards bigger and bigger units. The day of the peasant proprietor is fast coming to an end. In Germany, France and Italy he is being deliberately eliminated. Farm holdings are being joined up into larger units, and the surplus farmers forced into the towns and industry. Even in Britain and America, where the farm population is only a fraction of the whole, the process still goes inexorably on.

The same thing is happening in the sphere of distribution. Supermarkets spread everywhere, with the bigger ones even at this early stage already beginning to swallow up their smaller brethren. We now have super supermarkets. A further recent appearance in this country has been the discount store, narrowing margins still further and squeezing the small man even harder. There may be half a dozen different names over the shoe shops in the local High Street, but if Mr. Clore's attempted deal goes through they will all probably belong to the same firm.

Even among nations the same forces are at work. The Common Market is itself the reflection in some degree of the pressures towards bigger and bigger units, the size of the new giants on the world scene—Russia, the U.S., and China.

This process of concentration is part and parcel of capitalism. Behind it lies the relentless drive for greater and still greater efficiency, and before it the all-important quest for profit. Marx saw it operating in its very earliest stages over a hundred years ago and foresaw that its effects would become more and more profound.

From the hectic pace of events today we know how right he was.



## NEWS IN REVIEW

### GOA

Why all the fuss about Goa?

If it is difficult to be sure why Mr. Nehru chose the moment he did to swallow the Portuguese colonies, it is even harder to understand why so many people were so shocked by it all.

Perhaps they really believed all the big talk about India being the great peace-maker, standing for moral right before force. Anybody who takes in that sort of stuff is due for plenty of surprises.

It was amusing to see how the Indians dealt with the inevitable questions about Ghandi's reactions to the Goa invasion. Mr. Nehru dodged it by saying that the question came from people who had never understood Ghandi when he was alive. Mr. Krishna Menon was blunter. Ghandi? "Well, he isn't here, is he?"

It is even more amusing when we remember that Ghandi would probably have approved of the whole thing. For sure, he could not have objected on moral grounds: contrary to popular misconception, the man was never a pacifist. He simply used passive resistance as a political weapon.

In any case, if Ghandi were running the affairs of the Indian ruling class today, whatever principles he may once have had would be firmly held in check, just as some Labour Ministers in this country had to forget their one time pacifism and as President Kennedy, when he has to, ignores the fact that he is a Catholic.

As capitalism develops in India we shall probably see a lot more military adventures from her. Which means that we shall also have a lot more cynicism and double-talk from her rulers.

### THE CONGO

The struggle in the Congo is a year and a half old and seems to be as far away as ever from a settlement.

In this, and in its callousness and intrigues, it is typical of the many disputes which have been conceived by post-war capitalism.

The United Nations seems helpless, although the organisation has its excuses. There is probably a lot of truth in the allegations of Dr. O'Brien and General McKeown, that Great Britain has done its best to frustrate the UNO forces

which are fighting the Katangese.

There is a well-breeched lobby in British politics which sticks out for the Tshombe regime. This pressure group—the Katanga lobby—consists of men who have a lot of money sunk in *Union Minière* or some of its associates. They would not mind in the least if Katanga were an independent state. They have been active behind the scenes and have pleaded their case in the correspondence columns of the top newspapers.

But what substance is there in UNO's grumble?

When it was formed, United Nations was hailed as the international peace-maker which, learning from the failure of the League of Nations, would have teeth and would use them. It was obvious even then that if it suited their purpose, capitalist interests would see that UNO became a gummy, feeble white elephant.

The starry eyed refused to recognise this in 1945. But gummy and feeble the United Nations has turned out to be.

And in the Congo the confusion and bloodshed continues.

### Mr. MACMILLAN

Last month saw Mr. Macmillan's fifth birthday as Prime Minister. There can have been few men in the job with such an apparent contempt for the problems of it.

The post war Labour governments were rocked by their feuding and fussing. But Supremac has never turned one of his elegant hairs at his party's squabbles. Indeed, the fiercer the quarrels the cooler he becomes. His prime piece of cheek being when he described the resignation of his Chancellor of the Exchequer and two other members of the government as "little local difficulties".

Yet Macmillan has not been able to brush off all his problems. One which he has had to face is the decline of British capitalism.

If there is one thing for which his premiership may be memorable is could be the recognition of the fact that this country can no longer be more than an annexe of Europe in the great disputes of modern capitalism.

There will probably be no more imperialist adventures for Britain unless Washington approves. There will probably be no more a privileged, exclusive

Commonwealth trading area stretching around the world.

Macmillan is smooth and expensive enough to be the Primrose League's dream of an Englishman.

Hardly the chap, it seems, to preside over the decline of British capitalism. But that is what he has had to do.

Which goes to show what being Prime Minister can do for you.

### ICI and COURTAULDS

The ICI bid to take over Courtaulds was really big stuff—£180 millions worth of it. A combine of these two combines would dominate the industrial scene in this country, controlling over ninety per cent of the British production of synthetic fibres like rayon, terylene and nylon.

ICI want to merge so that they can take their share of what they think is an expanding market for man made fibres. To get this, they must fight foreign groups like du Pont and Rhone-Poulenc Rhodiaceta. They expect the competition to get even keener if Britain joins the Common Market, so on good sound capitalist lines they would like to eliminate the overlap between their own production and Courtaulds', which costs both firms a lot of money which they could save.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass

### WORK TO RULE

We were dished out with the usual large helpings of humbug over the postal workers' work-to-rule campaign in support of their wage claim.

There were the expected efforts to make the postmen look childish and ridiculous. There was the usual protest that the work-to-rule would not affect the employers but would only inconvenience the public.

Of course, the campaign *did* cause the public some bother—it would be difficult to suggest a method of pushing a wage claim which did not. And if there were such a method it would probably be pretty feeble.

The fact is, though, that the postal slowdown caused little disturbance to the public, who obviously do not especially care

if their personal correspondence arrives a day or two late.

It was different for industry and the government. Delays in the mail caused a lot of disruption for them. So the postal workers were hitting roughly on the right spot.

In any case the employers and the government, when it suits them, will cause just as much inconvenience to the public as any strike or work-to-rule.

Closing a factory or a coal mine, because they are unprofitable, causes the public a lot of trouble. Restricting the import of certain commodities to protect home industry makes for a lot of inconvenience all round.

Anybody who moans about this sort of thing is expecting capitalism to work to some deep human morality. For them, the facts of capitalist life must be especially inconvenient.

## THEY NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD IN 1860

PICK UP ANY governmental speech, or article in the newspapers, on the subject of strikes and it is an even chance that a dividing line will be drawn between the "bad old days" when strikes were legitimate and the present time when strikes are said to be unnecessary, useless, dangerous and immoral. Nowadays, they will say, the workers are well off and don't need to strike; and what is more, "the country" is in such a precarious state that strikes will lose markets for British goods and cause suffering all-round, to the strikers among others.

It is a seductive line but not at all persuasive when you realise that the same arguments were being advanced back in "the bad old days" of a century ago, as may be seen in the *Quarterly Review* (which in 1860 published an unsigned article on strikes, with particular reference to Papers on strikes read to the British Association in 1838 and 1854.

It started off with some splendid blarney about what a fine worker the Englishman was and how French peasants at Rouen, seeing English railway builders for the first time, gaped in wonder and admiration at the energy, the dexterity and the vast output. (It is possible, of course, that the translator was at fault and that the French peasants were really saying "did you ever see such clots?").

The next thought of the writer in the *Quarterly* was that it was only right that such magnificent workers should be "liberally remunerated" and receive "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work."

He was not, however leading up to the theme that workers ought to be paid more but that they were already being paid enough:

At no previous period has so large a number of skilled workmen received higher wages, and in no country are they able to live more comfortably upon the proceeds of their toil, if we except only those new colonies in which land is unusually abundant. There never was a time when skill and diligence received more general encouragement, or in which there was a greater disposition to do honour to the lot of the labour.

Not only were workers well off, but look at the chances they had of becoming really wealthy: "It is notorious that many of our most successful employers, and some of our largest capitalists have sprung directly from the working class . . ."

There never had been such working class affluence, indeed, the writer clearly thought it had been a bit overdone. "Will it be believed that the annual earnings of many families engaged in the cotton manufacture amount to more than the average incomes of the clergy of England?"

And London engineering workers were getting more than "the whole body of dissenting Ministers": iron workers being paid as much as an army captain with ten years' service; and other workers with a larger income "than falls to the lot of most professional men." The figures given for these Staffordshire "ball-furnace men" were £300 to £400 a year

("when trade is brisk"). At current prices this would be equivalent to between £1,500 and £2,000: "Yet the houses of these favoured labourers are scenes of disgusting untidiness and squalor."

But in 1860, as now, all was not well. The affluent workers did not always appreciate their good fortune, or understand how easily it could be destroyed. Some of them formed unions and came out on strike, whereas if well advised they would have been abstemious, saved money and joined the ranks of the capitalists.

If these workers came out on strike they were, said the writer, flying in the face of all experience because, as he sought to show with lots of examples, all strikes are either defeated or else they gain only temporary victory or they drive trade into the hands of foreign rivals. (He omitted to explain how the French could capture English markets in view of his quoted evidence that one Englishman did as much work as eight Frenchmen).

He summed up his arguments about the futility of strikes with the declaration: "Indeed, there is not an instance of any extensive strike, no matter how well organised and supported, having ended otherwise than in suffering and defeat to the workmen."

But he was not at all confident that workers would be convinced by what he thought he had proved. He feared that though you might prove "by political

*Continued bottom page 22*



## Lambs going quietly to slaughter

THE POLITICAL HIGGLE-PIGGLE which calls itself the Left Wing has developed some strange ideas in its time. Most of these have been drummed up to explain the failure of a left wing government, or to excuse the fact that the realities of capitalism had upset a favourite theory.

At one time the left wing's great dream was full employment. In addition to the theory that a Labour government would solve unemployment; there had to be the corollary that when this happened a grateful working class would vote the Labour Party into power again and again. This was a cosy notion in the 1930's and there were still plenty of Labour men in 1945 who held to it. They must have been bitterly disappointed when the working class showed themselves so unimpressed by the coincidence of full employment conditions and a Labour government in this country. For when that government was nearing its death, we remember, the British voters were hotter under the collar about the loss of the oilfields at Abadan than about the chance of keeping their job. Perhaps that is why some sad Labour supporters now put about the theory that a slump is needed now, to shake the workers out of what they call their complacency and make them regard the Tories as their enemy. A bit unfair, this. After all, the Tories have pretty well

kept up employment and so far have not taken anything like the strong measures which the Attlee government used against strikers.

It is strange that Labour Party members should have needed the nineteen fifties to make them wonder about how the working class vote. They should, after all, have learned the history of the 'thirties. That was the time when the workers showed how much they had learned from massive unemployment by returning Conservative, or Conservative dominated, governments to power with steamroller majorities. That should have taught everybody that the working class vote for all sorts of things. Sometimes they may vote for capitalism with nationalisation or with a national health service. At others they may vote for honest, dull Stanley Baldwin or for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

### Stafford Cripps

The professional politicians are often woefully astray in their estimations of what line of capitalist propaganda the workers will fall for. The Labour Party has an especially dismal record on this. It is an amusing exercise, now, to recall some of the speeches which Labour leaders made between the wars and to imagine the effect of Mr. Gaitskell, or George Brown, or even Harold Wilson, saying the same sort of thing today. Here, for example, is the *Daily Herald* report of part of a speech which the late Sir Stafford Cripps made at Eastleigh in 1937:

Today you have the most glorious opportunity the workers have ever had. The capitalists are in your hands. Refuse to make armaments; refuse to use them. That is the only way you can keep the country out of war and obtain power for the working class. Refuse to make armaments and the capitalists are powerless.

It was not long after making that speech that Cripps joined the wartime government and we were able to see what he made of his most glorious opportunity to obtain power for the working class by refusing to make armaments. By that time he had forgotten all about fiery speeches. Soon he was working hard as Minister of Aircraft Production, turning out the bombers which taught the German workers that the British capitalists were anything but powerless.

Cripps was one of the pre-war Labour leaders who held many weird notions

about capitalism and about the working class. That was why his career was so turbulent. Now, the Labour Party is rather sedate and is coldly organised to take power over British capitalism. Theories about working class opportunities are left to the fringe groups like the remaining few Trotskyists. These groups often keep themselves alive with delusions about a solidly militant working class which is somehow being constantly tricked by its leaders. They dream of the General Strike which, they think, was an example of faithful men being let down by treacherous leaders. They have forgotten the thousands of workers who cheerfully volunteered to be blacklegs during the strike, and the others who volunteered seriously, convinced that it was their duty to oppose what they thought was Red revolution. And the dreamers never explain—because they cannot—how solid, militant workers always seem to turn up such wretched, double-dealing leaders.

It is easy to blame our troubles onto capitalism's leaders and to conclude that the way out of them is to find new men to take over. The only unfortunate fact is that whatever new men are tried always seem to make the same sort of mistakes as the old. There must be more to it than that.

In fact, there is. Many historians are now making sport about the leaders of the First World War. There has recently been a flood of books about the apparent blunders of that war and of the terrible consequences of them. Forty years after, the mistakes seem all too obvious and the only difficulty is to find a reason for the generals agreeing to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of men to win a few yards of muddy rubble. So it is fashionable to decry the commanders of 1914/18, to lash out at Joffre's conceit and to poke fun at Haig's dourness. *The Big Push* by Brian Gardner, recently published by Cassell, is full of this sort of stuff. Gardner concerns himself with the Somme offensive of 1916, with what was expected of the attack and what actually happened to it. He sheds his tears over the suffering Tommies. He is indignant about Haig's lunches with visiting dignitaries, his many chateaux, his apparent indifference to the slaughter which was going on in the mud at the Front.

This is batting on the easiest of wickets. Indeed, the same sort of views are beginning to be expressed about the last war. The Bomber Command offen-

sive in the nineteen forties was planned as a decisive, war winning stroke. Yet one of the facts revealed by the recently published accounts of the wartime quarrels between Tizard and Lindemann is that the bomber attacks did not achieve anything like their object. The whole show, in fact, was the result of a serious miscalculation by the men who presided over capitalism's war machine. Soon, perhaps, we shall be reading books which make the men who planned and directed the bomber raids seem no more intelligent or humane than Haig and Joffre.

But we cannot blame the bloodshed of war onto capitalism's leaders. The Somme offensive was a miserable affair but what else did the British workers expect when they joyfully welcomed the declaration of war in 1914? What else did they expect from Haig's attack? Did they expect the generals to plan battles in which nobody would die? The workers, in fact, had great faith in their leaders' plans. Gardner makes this very point in *The Big Push* and so does Siegfried Sassoon, in his *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. "We decided," he wrote, "with quite a glow of excitement, that the Fourth Army was going to fairly wipe the floor with the Boches." Now if the attack had succeeded, even with as great a loss of life as when it failed, would there be so much criticism of the generals? Yet success or failure, thousands of workers would have died to protect their masters' interests and that is waste if you like.

### The Great War

Then let us remember that, however shaken they were by the carnage of 1914/18, the workers were all ready to go again in 1939. They were all ready to trust their leaders, to do as they were told and to follow their orders into useless slaughter. The Sommes and the Paschendaeles of 1939/45 are only just being revealed to us. We can be sure that, however terrible and pointless it was, the workers joined in the bloodbath with a will. Gardner says of Haig's army that it "... always obeyed his every command ...". He seems to intend that to be a compliment.

Let us be blunt about it. What use is there in mourning for the casualties in a war and at the same time supporting the war which has caused them, and the system which has produced the war? Human beings must always make mistakes—even if they are generals, whose failures and successes are paid for in their soldiers' lives. What sense is there in lamenting "useless" casualties in a war? Is there such a thing as a useful casualty? Or a useful war?

The malaises of capitalism are not a natural accident. They are an inevitable by-product of the system itself. Since the working class generally acquiesce in the continuance of capitalism they can hardly complain at the system's malaises. And as long as they are satisfied to leave their fate in the hands of leaders, military and civilian, they cannot complain

when the leaders deceive or betray or fail.

So let us not delude ourselves about the working class. They suffer the defects of capitalism but they are not its helpless victims. At present the workers in some ways are like lambs going quietly to slaughter. But human beings ought to be better than sheep.

IVAN.

## A Slice of the Cake

THE NATIONAL CAKE this expression often crops up in newspapers and in the mouths of politicians. At first sight it seems like a convenient and homely figure of speech, giving a rough idea of the truth. Not so. Like the other myths employed as propaganda for capitalism, it is false at its very roots.

What it is meant to convey is that there is a certain total of earnings—the national income—out of which both wages and profits have to be allocated. Often this idea is put forward by writers and speakers who claim to have working-class interests at heart. In this case they complain that the workers are not getting a large enough share of the mythical cake; and many workers are deceived by this sympathy into thinking in these terms themselves. They see that profits are rising and they demand their 'share'. And so it is easy for the capitalists, or their managers or politicians, when they can manage to show that the 'cake' has decreased in size, to make an attack on wages or to resist demands for rises. The recent 'wage pause' is a case in point.

It also helps them to persuade workers to work harder: 'Our standard of living can only be raised if we increase our earnings overseas' and so on. It is an idea that has gained strength from the fact that standards of living are relatively higher in countries like the U.S.A. where productivity is high. It has become an extremely powerful idea, favoured especially by so-called 'socialist' parties like the British Labour Party; and many people take it for granted. Yet it is a completely anti-socialist myth.

Unfortunately, the truth is not nearly so simple or so homely. But the whole business reminds one of that problem about the three men who were overcharged in a restaurant and the waiter

who kept two bob for himself. It is not a problem at all, really: it's a matter of considering the wrong set of figures. The point is that there is no such thing as a national cake; or if there is—if the total annual national profit can be called a cake—then the workers have no part in it at all. Their wages certainly do not come out of it.

Wages have to be paid before the capitalist handles any profit at all—sometimes a long time before. They are paid out of capital, just as are other production costs like raw materials, machinery, fuel and rent. And they are usually 'fair' wages; that is to say that, on average, capital usually buys workers' abilities at a price close to their real value. Profit is *not* mainly made by underpaying the workers (although much more could be said on this). Profit is made because work done on raw materials adds more value to them than the value of the labour power used up in the work.

It is when these commodities are sold, and not until, that the capitalist really handles his profit. He has converted his capital back into money once more—and a larger amount of money than he started with. This surplus, if anything, can be called cake—and it is cake for capitalists only. The majority of it is re-invested automatically to pay more workers and buy more materials, to bring in *more* cake—to build up, in fact, a veritable layer-cake.

So that almost everywhere a worker turns his eyes he sees property owned—not by himself or his kind who produced it all—but by a small minority—the ones who can *really* talk about 'our' country and mean what they say—the ones for whom it really is 'a piece of cake'.

S. STAFFORD.

## DOCUMENTARY FILMS

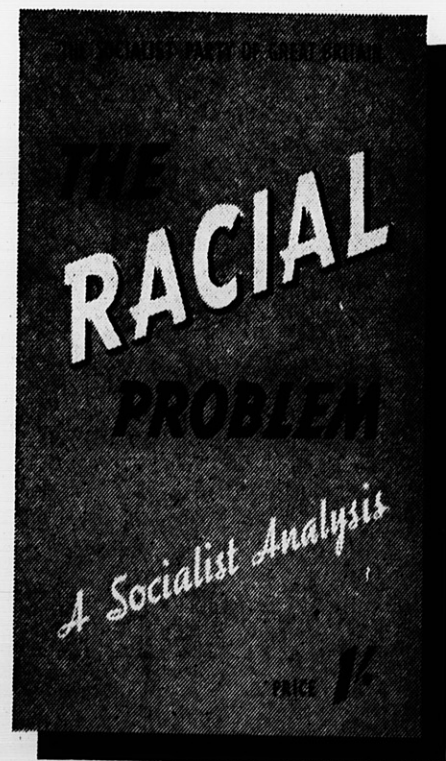
Every Sunday 7.30pm

HEAD OFFICE, 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, SW4

Details page 32



## Read



## SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

For a socialist analysis of war read

## SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

## BOOKS

## The Thirty Years War

The Thirty Years War  
C. V. Wedgwood, Pelican Books, 5s.

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR was in fact a series of conflicts lasting from 1618 to 1648, which devastated vast areas of Germany. Fought with a savagery that has seldom been equalled even in this bloody 20th century, the war has held the imagination of succeeding generations, whilst other and vaster conflicts have sometimes been forgotten.

Primarily a war between the States that comprised the disintegrating Holy Roman Empire, it was part of a greater conflict between the developing nations of Europe—and it involved most of the Continent and spilled over into the New World. Spain and France, England and Holland, Sweden and Russia, the permutations were endless, but the result was always the same—misery for the mass of the people.

Germany was then the main highway of Europe. As the author states:

Germany was a network of roads knotted together at the intersections by the great clearing-houses at Frankfurt on the Main, Frankfurt on the Oder, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Augsburg. West Indian sugar reached Europe from the refineries of Hamburg, Russian furs from Leipzig, salt fish from Lübeck, oriental silk and spices from Venice through Augsburg, copper, salt, iron sandstone, corn were carried down the Elbe and Oder, Spanish and English wool woven in Germany completed with Spanish and English cloth in the European market, and the wood that built the Armada was shipped from Danzig.

The cities of Germany were more thickly spread than those in any other area of Europe. Rich, a tempting prize to neighbouring ruling classes, its semi-independent states and free cities were loosely held together in the largely unworkable Empire. In the North, along the shores of the Baltic stretched the wealthy trading cities of the Hanseatic League. Once powerful and feared by their competitors, they were in decline as the opening up of the New World swung the centre of trade to the Atlantic seaboard. Sweden, Holland and Denmark, better placed geographically, fought a cut-throat battle to capture this trade.

The Holy Roman Emperor was elected to office by an Electoral College consisting of seven Princes and Cardinals, and

was usually a powerful landowner with vast possessions outside the Empire. It was with private troops from these possessions that he imposed what authority he could on the states within the Empire. For over a century the Imperial office had been held by members of the Hapsburg family. Their capital at Vienna was to become the centre of the Austrian Empire which dominated Central Europe centuries later.

The Reformation had split the Empire, and an uneasy settlement in the year 1555 had given to each state the religion of its ruling house. Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists each persecuted the dissenting elements within their borders. Surrounded by powerful and grasping neighbours, and lacking a strong central government, Germany went into an economic decline.

Meanwhile German credit declined and dangerous speculation led to the collapse of one great banking house after another. The firm of Manlich of Augsburg failed as early as 1573, that of Haug a year later; the larger business of the Welsers collapsed in 1614 and the world-famed family of Fugger itself could not work out the storm but went into liquidation shortly after.

To the west Spain and Holland, who had been locked in a struggle since 1572, had signed a truce that was nearing its end. Both were manoeuvring for positions from which they could renew the conflict. France was beginning to challenge the power of Spain, and across the channel a newly united Britain was on the brink of the great surge forward that was to make it the dominant capitalist power. In the south-east the Ottoman Empire was pushing on to the gates of Vienna itself. Sweden to the north, with its ultra-modern and fanatical army, looked into Germany and Russia for room to expand. This was the explosive situation in Europe when in 1618 the "key" state of Bohemia rose in revolt against the Emperor and blew the lid off

## BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STORY OF FABIAN SOCIALISM  
by Margaret Cole, Heinemann, 30s.

CRIME IN OUR TIME  
by Josephine Bell, Nicholas Vane, 21s.

SOCIALISM AND WAR  
by Edward Kardelj, Methuen, 12s. 6d.

the witches' cauldron.

The Thirty Years War was first published in 1938, when Germany occupied the same position in the popular mind that Russia holds today. In some ways the book reflects the attitudes of that period. Miss Wedgwood traces, with admirable clarity, the progress of a conflict as complicated in its intrigues as it was sickening in its brutality. The war at its very beginning assumed an international character, when Spanish troops moved up to support the Imperial forces, and a large mercenary army from Turin arrived to back up the hard-pressed Bohemians. In turn, France, Denmark and Sweden entered the struggle, and Germany became the battlefield and training ground

of foreign armies—a picture so familiar to us in the 20th century.

The author tells us a lot about human suffering, which was indeed appalling. To the usual horrors of war, the murder, torture and rape of civilian populations as ruffianly mercenaries and the fanatical troops of Sweden and Spain fought over the land, was added a new horror—that of systematic pillage. Armies lived off the land for years. As one area was reduced to a desert, they moved on to new territory. No attempt was made to provision armies and the most successful general was the one who could organise pillage most effectively.

The crowning horror was the Sack of Magdeburg in 1631. This rich trading

city on the Elbe fell to Tilly's half-crazed soldiery. Its inhabitants were butchered without mercy, and fire reduced the town to a blackened ruin. Whether this was a deliberate act of terror by the Catholic authorities or the action of troops out of control has long been debated. But design or accident, the result was the same to the wretched inhabitants. The news of the outrage inflamed the Protestant world to further acts of counter-violence. Years afterwards, Imperial prisoners asking for quarter were shot down with the cry of "Magdeburg quarter."

This is a book that can be read with profit by all who wish to increase their knowledge of the world in which Modern Europe, the Europe of capitalism arose.

L. DALE.

## HOMELESS IN LONDON

Last November, the Press and the politicians suddenly noticed that in London the number of homeless families was increasing.

The London County Council Housing Department estimates that within a year the number of homeless will grow from the present 3,000 to 5,000, perhaps more. Every week there are about 45 families seeking temporary accommodation. The Council is only able to fix up about 36 a week with permanent shelter.

Since the war 30,000 homeless families have been provided with temporary shelter by the L.C.C. In 1957 there were 280 homeless families in L.C.C. centres. Between 1958 and 1960 the number fluctuated between 410 and 435, and in November, 1961, it rose to 641.

Social workers who cannot understand why this should happen have persuaded the L.C.C. to appoint a committee of enquiry into the problem, and are awaiting its findings. They take the view that it will soon be impossible for anybody to live in London, except as a Council tenant, if he is earning less than £18 per week.

Who are the homeless?

They are not the aged, infirm, or the so-called problem families who are attended to quite separately. They are the young men and women who, if they had their own accommodation, would be ordinary working men and women like most Londoners. The husbands work, mainly in unskilled jobs, and earn an average of £10 or £12 per week. And they usually have two or more children. What happens to them?

If the need for help is accepted by the

Council basic shelter (and that is all it is) is given to the wife and children at a standard charge of £4 3s. per week. The men must make their own arrangements. As soon as possible the family is moved to another centre, where they can be together in one room. The standard all-in charge for this is £7 per week for a couple with two children. Finally, the lucky ones are moved to "short stay" of "half way" houses where they may have two rooms, cater for themselves, and pay between £1 5s. and £2 6s. a week. But these are always full, and it may be years before a family gets one. If they do, the Council stresses that they are only temporarily in residence there.

What can they do about it? There are four possibilities open to them.

1 Council houses and flats. The housing list is enormous. The L.C.C. has 52,000 families on its books and 28,000 more waiting to be entered. Owing to slum clearance and other urgent schemes, only 1,000 dwellings yearly can be allocated to those on the housing list. Priority is given on a strict points system. If the homeless were given top priority the Council is afraid there would immediately be a rush to become "homeless."

2 Private unfurnished accommodation. If it can be found, the rent is too high or there is a premium or a lease. Private developers are not building properties to rent unless they are in the luxury class. It is more profitable to build for a quick sale.

3 Furnished accommodation. Either rents are too high or the landlords can pick and choose their tenants because of the shortage and will not tolerate young

children.

4 The new and expanding towns. The chance of moving to these is remote because most of the jobs available are for skilled workers.

If we look a little deeper than the Press and politicians, the first thing to be noted is the age of the problem. In fact, it goes back to the beginning of modern capitalism. Many writers have exposed it in the past, all the reformist political parties and politicians have at some time stated that they had a solution to the problem. Still it persists.

The present situation has produced its usual crop of remedies, from suggestions for a differential rents' scheme to birth control. The L.C.C. may put some of the homeless into property awaiting demolition and are thinking of putting up what are called mobile buildings. If one judges by temporary buildings put up in the past by various councils mobile is the last thing they will be.

It is a strange thing how all these well-intentioned people overlook one thing. The investigators have all commented on the fact that these homeless families all live on low wages so it is the families with low incomes who are liable to be homeless. The rent is too high, the income is too low; they cannot afford, or to use the jargon of the market, they do not constitute an effective demand. Poverty is the word, and the present increase in the number of homeless in London is due to just that. The whole question of housing or lack of it, not only in London, but throughout the world, is part of the problem of poverty.

R. A.



## THE PASSING SHOW

### Goa

The successful Indian invasion of Goa set off a wonderful display of coat-turning. Many of those who supported British aggression at Suez in 1956 opposed Indian aggression at Goa in 1961: and vice versa. So many politicians seized the chance of using the arguments which had been used by their opponents at the time of Suez. Those who had hailed the British and French armed forces' attack on Nasser were then discomfited by having to watch Britain and France pilloried at the United Nations Assembly, with the vast majority of the member-states condemning the aggression, and only two or three countries, most of them Fascist or racist like Portugal and South Africa, supporting it. At that time no state shouted louder against this wanton aggression than India.

So with what glee have many MPs and others—chiefly Conservatives—waded in with righteous speeches and articles denouncing the Indian aggression, and using the very "holier-than-thou" arguments which were used against them with such telling effect in 1956. Even newspapers like the *Daily Mail*, which has supported the British ruling class for many years through thick and thin, whatever methods it has used—indiscriminate brutality to the civilian population as in Cyprus, executions for having associated with suspected persons as in Kenya, or naked aggression as at Suez, all defended by sob-jerking references to "our boys out there"—even newspapers with this record came out quite unabashed against India. The *Daily Mail*, straightening its very tarnished halo, and raising its eyes piously to the heavens, even had the nerve to proclaim that no action which was morally wrong could be politically right. How any *Daily Mail* journalist could write that without the typewriter jamming is hard to see.

### Right to rule

On the other hand, we had many of those who consider themselves left-wing or progressive weighing in on the other side. Very often they were the same people who pointed out (quite rightly) in 1956 that it is no good denouncing aggression only when it is committed by somebody else; that aggression is still aggression even when the aggressors are the British ruling class. But over Goa they had deluded themselves into believ-

ing that the Indian ruling class had some "right" to rule over Goa and its people stronger than the "right" of the Portuguese to do the same thing. So out came the argument that "aggression is wrong, but—well, this is different"—exactly the argument used by the pro-Suez faction in 1956.

What it all boils down to is this: if you support capitalism, you will end up by backing this or that capitalist state against the others, even when it goes to war, kills innocent men, women and children, and commits the most bare-faced aggression. It is only the Socialist who sees all capitalist states for what they are, and sees that when their own interests demand it they will all kill, execute, and commit aggression however much they have denounced other states doing the same things in the past.

### Independence for Balham

But that is far from being the only insoluble problem of supporters of capitalism. While we are on the subject, here is another. All "liberal-minded, progressive people" support, of course, "national independence"—i.e., the right of one state to throw off another which attempts to rule over it. On the other hand, as one descends the scale of communities, there must be a point at which this "right of independence" no longer applies. If, for example, a small London suburb like Balham (even though it is, in Peter Sellers' words, the "gateway to the south") proclaimed its independence, there would surely be very few people, even in the Labour Party, who would be prepared to rally to its banner and die gasping out "independence for Balham!" with their last breath. But—and here is the sixty-four dollar question—where exactly is this point reached?

### Ireland

A case in point is Ireland. Over the long years when the Irish propertied class

was demanding its "independence" from the United Kingdom, the British ruling class said the British Isles was the smallest possible unit in this area which could claim independence: Ireland was too small. Against this, the Irish owning class argued that any community, even if part of a larger community, has a perfect right to split off if it wants to. Then when it became clear that Irish independence was only a matter of time, the capitalists of Northern Ireland began to claim the right to hive off from an independent Ireland. At this, the two parties did a smart about turn, and each stole the other's arguments. Now it was the emerging Irish ruling class which denied the right of a small part of a larger community to split off, while those who had previously said that the British Isles was the smallest community hereabouts which could claim self-determination now stoutly defended the right of no more than six counties in Northern Ireland "to determine their own future".

### Katanga

Another example of the same difficulty—and one which is causing repeated loss of life both among the "United Nations" forces and among the forces supporting Tshombe—is Katanga. One view is that the Congo is the smallest possible unit which can feasibly claim independence; the other view is that Katanga is large enough to stand alone if it wants to. The problem is in fact insoluble in capitalism, except by force. There is no valid rule which lays down how large a country must be before it can demand "independence". So the two sides—the Congolese ruling class which wants the mineral wealth of Katanga, and the Katangese rulers who want to keep it for themselves—fight it out in either open war or uneasy temporary peace.

The only permanent solution of the Katanga problem, and all the other problems of "national independence", is Socialism. In a Socialist system of society there would be no national boundaries, no state frontiers, because there would be no ruling classes to impose them: so naturally there would be no dispute as to where they should lie. Those earnest supporters of the "United Nations" who are now deeply puzzled about the Katanga impasse might usefully consider our alternative.

ALWYN EDGAR.

## Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

Write to SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, for free leaflets to distribute in your T.U. Branch

## THE POST OFFICE WORK TO RULE

WRITING WHILE the struggle is still going on it is nevertheless possible to see that the Post Office workers' demonstration of solidarity in their work-to-rule surprised the Postmaster-General and the Government as well as hampering the users of the services.

The Post Office first dismissed the hold-up as being due to the snow and frost, but though the weather improved the service did not, and the Post Office had to cancel a central London delivery and appeal to the public and business firms to limit their postings. The next move was the costly one of imposing overtime to clear the mountains of delayed mail, and switching mail to other offices for sorting. This, too, proved adequate and on January 10th, while asserting that only a fifth of the postmen were working-to-rule (a statement denied by the Union) the PMG had to announce that the inland parcel service in and out of London had to be suspended.

At the same time the Civil Service Clerical Association planned its own work-to-rule for mid-January, not specifically about a pay claim but in protest against the Government's interference with the right of the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal to fix operative dates for the payment of awards.

The Post Office workers movement arose out of a claim they lodged in July for an increase on the ground that their pay had been falling progressively behind the average levels in manufacturing and some other industries, a factor which the PMG declared to be irrelevant since, according to present methods of fixing civil service pay, the governing basis is the pay of workers doing comparable work. He held that factory work is not comparable work for Postmen, Telegraphists and others. He could not deny that Post Office pay had in any event fallen another four per cent. behind the Ministry of Labour index of wage rates, and that this is a relevant factor and had been admitted to be so in the four per cent. increase granted on that ground in January, 1961. But he had another argument, that even if he admitted that a claim had been made out it would have been barred while the Chancellor's pay pause lasted. It was on such grounds that the Post Office justifies only paying the lowest grade, the men Cleaners, only £8 16s. a week, because there are many other employers who pay even less.

Post Office workers and other civil servants take industrial action under the

shadow of the declaration of succeeding governments that they will take strong action against any civil servants who strike. It was Sir Hartley Shawcross, Attorney-General, who declared in 1946 that the Labour Government would dismiss any civil servant who went on strike, with consequent loss of pension as well as the job.

The whole affair was also overshadowed by the manoeuvring between the Government and the TUC about the proposed National Economic Development Council, the Government trying to entice the TUC to join and the latter standing out for concessions about the Pay Pause and other matters.

Those who still think that Nationalisa-

tion is a solution to the workers' problems, and that being employed by the Government takes the workers out of the wages struggle, should note the PMG's frank admission that the Government was hitting at Post Office workers in order to keep the general level of wages from rising.

He said in a Press interview on January 10th:

If the Postal workers, through the action they are apparently taking, were to receive an adjustment of pay then the movement would spread like wildfire throughout the whole of the public sector and throughout British industry. (*Evening News*, 10.1.62.)

If thinking that the Government is more generous than other employers is one illusion, another is taking an exaggerated and unrealistic view of what industrial action can achieve against the employers and the State. It has been possible in the last twenty years of inflation to get the idea that employers (and the Government) are not really able to resist strong trade union pressure backed by strikes. What has been happening is that though governments have encouraged employers to resist wage-claims, they have usually been willing, each time serious industrial unrest threatened, to give a further boost to inflation, thus putting up prices and profits and making it comparatively cheap to give wage increases. Most of each wage increase was not a real gain but only compensation for higher prices.

But if the Government came to the determined conclusion that the process of inflation had to halt and be replaced by tough resistance to wage demands irrespective of the cost in the form of strikes and interrupted production, there should be no illusion about their power to do so. As has been shown so often in the past, including the post-war Labour Government's proclamation of Emergency Powers and the use of troops to do the work of strikers, the Government, if it thinks it worth while to use it, in any particular case, has the power to defeat workers' industrial action. This is not saying that industrial action is useless, but that its usefulness is limited. It can be effective in favourable circumstances when employers may give a wage increase to avoid production being halted, but it cannot meet on equal terms the wealth of the employers and the powers of the State.

## SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

### Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept  
52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4

6 issues 4/- post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me  
Socialist Standard  
for the next issues

I enclose ☐ s ☐ d

Name

Address



# RELIGION | GOD SPEAKS FOR CAPITALISM

IN ALL THE AGES and stages of man's past the idea of a god has been of powerful significance. Always the gods were credited with real physical existence. They were felt to be present in the midst of all that went on, exerting some mysterious influence.

The conception of what a god is like has varied, but it is plain that men created the gods, including the god of the Christian church, in their own image. There are exceptions such as the sun and other objects, but always these were imbued with the spirit, mind and consciousness of a man. They always reflected man's doubts, fears and passions, his ignorance of the origin of natural forces. They reflected, and still reflect, man as a social animal at changing levels of development contrasted with nature and the means of production.

As the means of production developed, changes took place in the structure of society. New social conditions and relationships came into existence. With each change, reflecting man's needs in society, the god was called upon to sanction changes in morality and social conduct. Things which at one stage were holy, moral, legal and "eternal", were at another just the opposite.

Today's god has to sanction wage-slavery and H-bombs because capitalism is the established social order. Despite all its viciousness and evils, the few gods that are left speak for capitalism, in the voice of the ruling-class. The gods are capitalism's ventriloquist dolls.

## Tribal Custom

On practically every issue the believers themselves are divided. Some religious leaders are for the Bomb, some are against it. Some are pacifist, some war supporters, and so on. Is it that god whispers different and contradictory messages in their ears, or is it that having decided what they want to do they each claim divine guidance afterwards?

In the past, the gods had an existence in a spirit world but the manifestations of the gods were, to the faithful, very concrete and tangible. They were an integral part of tribal life and custom. It is a different matter today.

The dead weight of past superstition and ignorance has hampered and ob-

structed a more rational and scientific understanding of things. The battle between science and theological cant has been hard and up-hill. It has not always been fought out in the open, for the social pressures of widespread prejudice affect men of science as much as anyone else.

The fate which is overtaking religion and which is causing the self-appointed men of god such alarm, will overtake the whole of the capitalist system sooner or later. That this fate is not understood by the popes and bishops, etc., can be seen by the fact that they attribute it to any but the correct cause.

## Productive Forces

It is something which only the materialist can satisfactorily explain. The social productive activities of man at a primitive level provide the conditions for the birth of gods. The further development of the productive forces has provided the conditions for their disappearance.

In all past stages the ceremonies, rites and rituals carried out by the priests were regarded as a direct contact with the deity. When the Christian prayed, although it was a one-sided conversation, he was talking to god. Today these things are done largely as a token performance of tradition. The motions are gone through and the holy mumbo-jumbo is muttered, but the facts of life in society make it more and more difficult to believe.

All this is not to say that religion is finished. There is one remaining condition to be fulfilled before the gods are finally consigned to the past. The ruling class still find god a handy instrument of oppression. There are still many places like Spain, Ireland and Malta where the catholic church is able to exercise tyrannical power.

The Socialist has always seen in religion an obstacle in the way of the working class. God may serve the capitalist interest, but he is a menace to the clear thought and action of the workers. The tyrants of the church can only flourish upon ignorance and fear. As the workers gain an understanding of their class position and their desire for Socialism spreads, those henchmen of capital will be cast aside and ignored.

It is a noteworthy fact that the pulpit no longer suffices for the head-fixing operators. They have long since had to have recourse to the press, radio and television. In order to retain some kind of blurred image in the working class mind, the sky-pilots have to keep up a seven days a week barrage. They are now thinking of joining the jingo chanters of commercial television. In between commercials urging us to use Smith's tooth-paste and Brown's eye-wash, we may soon hear the slogan, "Come to Jesus, son of lightness and brightness."

Christians have even stooped to putting a mock debate on television, with one Christian posing as Marx in order to make it easy for his colleague to knock his argument down. We would prefer to see a real debate on Marxism, but they will, of course, prefer their cut-and-dried questions, asked and answered by themselves. In the modern world the more the church finds it necessary to explain god, the vaguer he becomes—and the vaguer he becomes, the greater the need to explain. This is the desperate situation they are in. Modern science has made god so intangible and unintelligible that his non-existence is becoming self-evident. All that is left is the shell. The book of words, the conflicting interpretations still linger but the hero of the piece has been whittled away.

## Humbug

To the believer, his is the "one true god," but if he rejects the Socialist's explanation of the origin of the gods, how does he explain the existence (past and present) of all the "false" gods? If he accepts that our explanation applies to them, could it not just as reasonably apply to his god as well? Of course, his god is false to those who believe in the others.

All the self-righteous humbug of Christianity in posing as the sole custodian of moral principles and eternal truth has failed to stand the tests to which capitalism has subjected it. To talk of loving thy neighbour in one breath, and defend mass-murder in the next gives the game away.

A moral code which heaps condemnation upon petty violence in the streets whilst it blesses a society based upon

international violence and plunder can only reap the contempt it deserves. To the Christians, their god remains very much a mystery, whose ways are strange. The materialist sees no mystery. He can

explain god through society.

When the working-class decide to use the earth's resources for the benefit of all by establishing Socialism, they will have changed society. Mature mankind will

then have one purpose. Not the working out of some divine plan but the production of things for use with a full and satisfying life for everybody.

H. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor



If the world is owned by a comparative few it means that the few can demand payment of all others, including all future generations, to live on it—and that is precisely what is happening. If, however, you remove from the few the power to demand this toll, then you will remove their power to enslave those who have had to pay the toll. Now the value which is put on any of the natural resources is a communal value and if you transfer that value from the landowner to mankind as a whole you will have done all that is necessary and you will have done it mathematically; for no landowner would be able to hold land out of use and the earth's resources would be open to all. A tax on land equivalent to its value would achieve this end since no landowner could keep land idle and pay the tax. He would have to work it himself to get the wherewithal to pay the tax or, if he could not do that himself, he would have to relinquish its ownership and allow someone else to do so. In either case the monopoly privilege would not exist.

In the past, millions of minds have been prevented from seeing this truth because of the misuse of words.

Here are some examples:

The word "employer" is a misused term and it has led to much confusion. Everyone who works is fundamentally an employer. Every time you buy something you are employing someone to get what you want. When you ask your grocer to get you some eggs, you are his employer, you pay him for doing it. If the grocer in turn employs a boy to deliver the eggs to you, he employs the boy and pays him. From the point of view of actually working, there is no difference between you and the grocer; you are both employers. The haggling between you and the grocer as to the price of the eggs is no different from the haggling between the grocer and the boy as to the rate of wages. We could carry this further and show that every child who buys a lolly-pop with the 2d. he received from someone for running a mes-

## WHO GETS THE PROFIT?

sage is an employer of labour and it would be quite logical.

The word "profits" is also a term which has led to much confusion.

The three factors in production are:

- (1) Land.
- (2) Labour and
- (3) Capital.

The distribution of the products of these factors is between:

- (1) the Landowner,
- (2) the worker and
- (3) the Capitalist.

Here is my question to you: Which of these three gets the profit? Is it not the landowner whose rent must be paid other-

wise production cannot commence? Neither labour nor capital can be employed without the permission of the landowner. The amount of current production that goes first to the landowner determines what will be left for the worker and the capitalist. The agreed amount of interest which has to be paid for the loan of capital determines what goes to labour. If Rent, as a whole, goes up at some future time then *relatively* wages go down.

The word "Capital" (and "Capitalist") is a word which leads to confusion. Capital, logically, does not include land and, therefore, the Capitalist should not be blamed for the sins committed by the landowner. A Capitalist is one who lends his capital to someone who wants to borrow it. The someone gains by the loan of the capital otherwise he would not borrow it. The difference between a landowner and a capitalist is very significant. The landowner does not produce the land which he lends, it is a natural factor, but the capitalist does produce his capital. A worker who produces vegetables may either eat them or exchange them, say, for bread. If he consumes the vegetables then he consumes wealth, the final product, but if he exchanges them for bread or for an amount of money agreed upon to be paid at some future date, his vegetables are his capital and he is a capitalist, but I see nothing wrong in that.

You will notice that I distinguish between land, capital and wealth: Land is a *primary* factor, so is labour. Capital is a product used as a *secondary* factor and wealth is the end product which is finally consumed. The object of all production (not to be confused with destruction) is wealth, and all wealth depends ultimately on free access to the Earth's natural resources.

An individual may be simply a worker, a capitalist, or a landowner; or, he may be a combination of two or three of these. This fact, however, does not invalidate the arguments above concerning the production and the distribution of wealth.

Dorchester

W. HARTLEY BOLTON

## Reply

Mr. Hartley Bolton is aware of the great power and privilege which class ownership of the means of wealth production confers upon the owning class. Why, then, is he content to only levy tax upon land



values? If minority ownership of land is such a social evil, why not abolish it altogether? Contrary to our correspondent's view, landowners would be quite prepared to keep their land idle and pay tax upon it, if the economic conditions of capitalism made it more profitable to do so. This sort of social idiocy is quite common under capitalism.

Mr. Hartley Bolton does not say how the land would be assessed for the purpose of the tax. Would it be the current market value? Would land in the centre of London be taxed more heavily than that in mid-Wales? These are the sort of problems which the administrators of capitalism are always getting themselves involved in. Such schemes must leave the basis of capitalist society intact, which means that they must also leave capitalism's problems intact.

The land is by no means the only means of wealth production. The others—factories, mines and so on—also have a communal value insofar as they are the result of socially applied human labour power. At present, the capitalist class own the means of wealth production and because of this they can hold the rest of society to a sort of ransom. We are allowed to work for our living, for example, only if it pays our employer to do so.

The word 'employer' denotes the existence of a social relationship which does

not exist between a shopkeeper and his customer. The customer cannot sack the grocer, because he does not own the grocery shop. But an employer can lay off his workers if he wants to, because he does own the place where they work. An employer pays his employees wages, which are the price of their labour power and nothing else. When a customer buys eggs the money which he pays is the price of the eggs and nothing else. The two transactions give rise to two entirely different social relationships.

The products of capitalist society are not divided between land, labour and capital. The worker's wage is paid to him before the goods which he has produced are sold, sometimes even before they are made. It is, therefore, impossible for him to take part in the distribution of his product. What actually happens is that the working class produce a surplus for their masters, from which the capitalist pays off any rent or interest to which he is liable, keeping the rest for himself as his profit.

Working class wages are determined in the long run by the value of their labour power—that is, by the amount of wealth which is needed to reproduce them as workers. The wage is agreed before production takes place; it therefore has nothing to do with the amount of interest which the capitalist must pay or the rent which he owes.

Mr. Hartley Bolton says, "Capital, logically, does not include land . . ." but he does not define capital and tell us what it *does* include. In fact, capital is wealth which is used to produce more wealth with a view to profit. If a capitalist is " . . . one who lends his capital . . ." then how do we describe the person who borrows it? A capitalist is in fact somebody who owns enough of the world's means of wealth production—including land—to enable him to live without having to work for a wage.

The capitalist no more produces his capital than the landowner does his land. The land has no price except when human labour power is present to work upon it. Similarly, capital is accumulated human labour—it is the result of the accumulated exploitation of the working class. Capital is a secondary factor in production in so far as it is expendable, for the only necessities for production are natural materials and human working ability.

Finally, it is impossible for a person to be both worker and capitalist at the same time, except perhaps for a few freak borderline cases. For workers and capitalists hold opposite stations and have interests which are diametrically opposed. This is the basic social division in capitalism; it is one of the reasons why capitalism must be abolished if we are to solve our problems.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from  
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

## HERE AND THERE

### Freedom to Emigrate

It is typical of Russia and all her satellite countries that workers are not allowed to emigrate. Every effort is made, by Berlin walls and savage penalties, to keep the workers inside the frontiers. Quite a long while ago there were laws prohibiting English workers emigrating, particularly to foreign countries. The purpose was to prevent workers' skill and training acquired here from going to help rival manufacturers, and doubtless much the same motive is behind the similar prohibition imposed in Russia.

In 1824 a House of Commons committee reported on the impossibility of preventing emigration and the Act was repealed. The Committee found:

That, notwithstanding the laws enacted to prevent the seduction of artisans to go abroad, many able and intelligent artisans have gone abroad to reside and to exercise their respective arts, and that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, by law to prevent artisans who may be so determined from going out of the country.

It is an interesting speculation how long it will take Russian capitalism to catch up with 1825.

### Working like Whites

It has been noted before in these columns how the leaders of the new nations signal the great day of "liberation" by calling on their followers to work harder. It is all very fitting and inevitable. Like money, which "has no smell," exploitation has no skin colour. But it remained for Jomo Kenyatta, leader of Kenya Africans, to hit upon the perfect form of words. He called on his workers to be prepared to work harder, "like white men!" (*Daily Express*, November 6th, 1961).

### A Council House?

When the Birmingham Corporation decided to take a ballot among would-be buyers of 108 council houses it received 1,800 applications (*Guardian*, January

8th, 1962). But half of these were eliminated before the ballot took place; 500 because they already had a home, were not Birmingham-born, or were older than 30, and another 400 young couples "because they earn below £16 a week."

The City's housing manager reckons that those who are lucky to get a house will have monthly expenditure on mortgage repayments, rates and ground rent of nearly £16 a month for the next 30 years. He also reckons that unless the would-be occupier has a regular £16 a week (including regular overtime) he can't afford to pay out £16 a month.

Birmingham is one of the highest wage areas in the country, yet nearly a quarter of would-be buyers of a council house can't afford it.

Which brings us back to the current myth about the average wage in this country being £15 a week. That figure, which crops up so often, is not the average wage of all the 13 million men employed in the whole range of industries and services, but the average for fewer than 5 million of them employed in the relatively highly paid manufacturing industries. And it is not the average of their normal pay for a week's work, but includes nearly six hours' overtime. Without the overtime it would come down to little over £12 10s, and if the rest of the industrial, agricultural, distributive and clerical workers were included it would

almost certainly be under £12.

All of this relates to men aged 21 and over. Women will be lucky if their average wage is much above half the figure for men.

### Moments of Truth

#### No Solution for Housing Problem:

I have tried to indicate that, if we managed to hit and continue to hit 300,000 a year, we should be, broadly speaking, meeting the need. But of course there is a continuing problem. *We will never solve the housing problem as such—never.* (Italics ours).

Statement by Earl Jellicoe—Parliamentary Secretary Ministry of Housing, House of Lords, November 28th, 1961.

#### Keeping quiet about Inflation:

I do not believe that there is a long-term answer to the problem of inflation . . . That does not mean . . . that I believe that governments of the day ought to admit in public that they should not direct part of their policies to trying to restrain inflation. If they admitted publicly that inflation could not be restrained we should have run-away inflation overnight.

Mr. David Price, M.P. for Eastleigh, Conservative, House of Commons, December 18th, 1961.

H.



FEBRUARY 1912

## THE PURPOSE OF NATIONALISATION

At the present moment a kind of Socialism for capitalists is being created. It is very modest. It contents itself with the transformation of certain industries into public services. Above all, it does not compromise one. On the contrary, it will rally a good number of capitalists. They are told: look at the Post Office, that is a socialist public service functioning admirably to the profit of the community and more cheaply than if it were entrusted to a private company, as was formerly the case. The gas supply, the railways, and the building of workmen's dwellings, must also become public services. They will function to the profit of the community and will chiefly benefit the capitalist class.

In capitalist society, the transformation of certain industries into municipal or national services is the last form of capitalist exploitation. It is because that form presents multiple and incontestable advantages for the bourgeoisie that in every capitalist country the same industries are becoming nationalised (Army, Police, Post Office, Telegraphs, the Mint, etc.) . . .

In capitalist society a private industry only becomes a State service in order to better serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

(From an article by Paul Lafargue written in 1882 and reproduced in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* Feb. 1912.)

The Journal of  
Scientific Socialism from  
Canada and the U.S.A.

The  
WESTERN  
SOCIALIST

Obtainable from SPGB, 6d. post paid

We aim to double the  
circulation of the  
**SOCIALIST STANDARD**  
during 1962

What are you doing  
to help?



**DOCUMENTARY FILMS**

Head Office, 52 Clapham High St.,  
SW4.  
Sundays 7.30 pm.

February 4th.  
**ONE MAN'S STORY**

February 11th.  
**COME BACK AFRICA**  
Speaker: A. Fahy.

February 18th.  
**BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN**  
Speaker: C. Wilson.

February 25th.  
**KAMERADSCHAFT**  
Speaker: R. Ambridge.

March 4th.  
**TODAY & TOMORROW**

*The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.*

**HACKNEY LECTURE**

Bethnal Green Town Hall,  
Cambridge Heath Road, E.2.

Wednesday 14th February, 8 pm.  
**MATTHIAS ALEXANDER**  
Speaker: E. C. Edge.

**MITCHAM DISCUSSION**

The White Hart, Cricket Green,  
Mitcham.

Thursday 15th February, 8 pm.  
**PAY CLAIMS**

**PADDINGTON LECTURES**

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesday, 9 pm.

February 7th.  
**FILM SHOW**

February 14th  
**YUGOSLAVIA—PAST & PRESENT**  
Speaker: I. Remy.

February 21st.  
**MUSIC & SOCIETY**  
Speaker: I. Jones.

March 7th.  
**THE ITALIAN WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT**  
Speaker: Beppe.

March 14th.  
**THE DISPOSSESSED**  
Speaker: S. Gluck.

March 28th.  
**THE PARIS COMMUNE**  
Speaker: H. Young.

## Branch News



In the absence of the full report of the activities of **Glasgow Branch**, is it good to note that great activity is taking place and the Branch members are co-operating to ensure that the series of meetings are as successful as possible. Their full report is on the way, but has not arrived in time for this month's issue. No doubt there will be more to add by the time we go to press for March.

Wembley Branch members turned out in torrential rain on December 29th to visit the Young Liberals for a discussion on "Immigration". They were most courteously received by these young people, and although talk started off on the official topic, it was not long before it had broadened into a thorough examination of the whole Socialist case. The standard of questions was very high and our comrades were kept busy answering them and points of discussion until the end of the evening. A most gratifying result, and amply repaying the efforts of those who were able to attend. Comrades are hoping for a return visit from the Young Liberals in the near future. By the time you read this, the second of the public meetings will have been held at the Branch rooms, when Comrade Hardy will have told the audience just "Why we Stand Alone". Another, (and possibly more ambitious) meeting is planned to round off the indoor season, probably at the end of March. Details later.

Mitcham Group reports continued activity during the Autumn/Winter indoor season. Regular discussions have been held monthly in their meeting room at the 'White Hart'. The principal activity of members has been in taking issue with our opponents in the correspondence columns of the local papers. Each letter sent has been published and as a result a number of people have had their attitude corrected by reading the Socialist view. In fact, it is considered by members of the Group, that owing to their efforts in this direction, they are responsible for one Mitcham paper no longer referring to the Labour Party as *Socialist*.

A programme has been drawn up for the Mitcham Group to discuss both topical politics and political theory. They held a successful meeting in January which dealt with the implications of the European Common Market scheme.

P.H.

★ **QUESTIONS OF THE DAY** (1/3 post paid)

**GLASGOW MEETINGS**

St. Andrews Halls, Berkeley Street,  
Room 2, Door G.  
Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt  
throughout the winter until April 29th.

**THE SOCIALIST SEARCHLIGHT**

February 4th.  
**SEX, SOCIETY & SANITY**  
Speaker: J. Mulheron.

February 11th.  
**THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS**  
Speaker: R. Donnelly.

February 18th.  
**SPORT IN THE SICK SOCIETY**  
Speaker: D. Donaldson.

February 25th.  
**THE ORGANISATION MAN**  
Speaker: T. D'Arcy.

**MARXISM TODAY**

March 4th.  
**ECONOMIC FALLACIES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**

March 11th.  
**A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY**

March 18th.  
**MARXISM—THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION**

March 25th.  
**MARXISM & THE SPGB**

**LEWISHAM LECTURE**

Room 1, Co-op Hall, Davenport Rd.,  
Rushey Green, SE6.

Monday 26th February, 8.15 pm.  
**MORAL REARMAMENT**  
Speaker: E. Critchfield.

**LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS****Sundays**

Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East Street, Walworth.  
February 4th & 25th (noon).  
February 11th (11 am).  
February 18th (noon).  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

**Thursdays**

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

**Saturdays**

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.



# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

---

Official Journal  
of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

MARCH 1962 / 6

## **THE WEST INDIES & THEIR FUTURE**

page 41

## **Fog on the Danube**

page 46

## **ANOTHER 1926 ?**

page 35

## **CO-PARTNERSHIP**

page 38

## **The New Men in Russian Industry**

page 40



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (1st & 15th Mar) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 2nd Mar. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th Mar. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham; SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCELES** 2nd Monday (12th Mar.) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (5th and 19th Mar) 7.30 pm, The Coffee Room, Craven Arms, High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**DORKING & DISTRICT** Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel: PYR 2404.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (14th Mar.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (12th Mar) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (26th Mar) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (5th and 19th Mar) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th and 22nd Mar) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th and 23rd Mar) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 15th Mar 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUSSEX** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

Wednesday 21st March 7.30

MASS CENTRAL LONDON

RALLY

CONWAY HALL

Full details page 48

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . .	36
Hurrah for the NCB New Hospitals Expensive Royalty Tory Unrest	
ALL MAD TOGETHER . . . . .	37
CO-PARTNERSHIP: FACT OR FANTASY . . . . .	38
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY . . . . .	39
How many Millionaires A nice job Accidents The new men in Russian Industry The Manager's Life	
RAY KELLAR . . . . .	40
THE WEST INDIES: WHAT NEXT	41
BRANCH NEWS . . . . .	43
THE PASSING SHOW . . . . .	44
CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	45
FOG ON THE DANUBE . . . . .	46
COVENTRY SOCIALIST GROUP . . . . .	47

## EDITORIAL | ANOTHER 1926?

The background of industrial unrest and resentment at the Government's wages policy, highlighted by the stoppage of work by three million engineering and shipyard workers for one day on February 5th, led many newspapers to surmise that perhaps we may see a repetition of the "general strike" of 1926, when upwards of two million workers came out in support of the miners who were on strike against a reduction of pay. The Government, under cover of a Declaration of Emergency, used troops and the courts and its control of propaganda to defeat the general strike in nine days, and the miners, though they endured semi-starvation for nine months, eventually had to go back on the employers' terms. The propertied class had won, though it cost them £100 million.

Could it happen again? The Government possibly thought that it might and according to the *Sunday Express* (28/1/62) a plan to meet that eventuality was prepared last July at the time the Chancellor announced the "pay pause." If the Government had wanted to provoke a repetition of 1926 it could probably have got it by enforcing an immediate freezing of all wages for an indefinite time—some of its self-appointed advisers in the Press said that it ought to do this in the name of "logic" and "fairness." But perhaps the outward appearance of muddle, uncertainty, vacillation and illogicality were not just stupidity but a flexible Government policy of dragging out the dispute, dividing the workers and preventing what they failed to prevent in 1926.

They bought off the teachers, then the electricity supply workers, and got the miners and railwaymen negotiating over small offers made to them—it is, of course, absurd to suppose that the Government, if it had really wanted to, could not have barred all concessions in the three nationalised industries. In January they announced the restoration of powers to the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal, except the right to back-date awards past April 1, 1962, thus inducing the civil servants to call off their "work-to-rule"; brought the main Post Office work-to-rule to an end and left the Post Office engineers working-to-rule on their own.

Then came the White Paper, *The Next Step*, with its prospect of small wage increases in stage two of the wages policy. Six months respite had been gained, six months nearer to the time, they hope, when some improvement in exports will ease the position. This left the Government and the employers still facing the main threat, a possible prolonged strike in the engineering industry. But in the meantime they had induced the TUC to join the National Economic Development Council, thus further lessening the possibility of any united trade union support for an engineering strike. True, the TUC had declared that it would not endorse the Governments' pay pause, but the *Sunday Pictorial* (4/2/62) discloses that the TUC rejects the pause because it is considering the alternative of replacing wage increases at the present time by increased old age pensions or sick benefit, or by allocating savings bonds redeemable within three to five years. By contrast, the TUC had in 1926 been pushed by the rank-and-file into leading the general strike.

While we are on the subject of comparisons with 1926 some other aspects ought not to pass unnoticed. The railwaymen, miners and electrical workers were then demanding a "solution" of their problems by nationalisation; now they have it and are not so sure, but the engineering workers and builders still cherish the same delusion.

They were all longing for blessed relief in the next Labour Government—which turned out to be the great debacle of 1929-1931. And then, as now, the economic journals carried the outpourings of the "new men" who had, they said, at long last discovered how to manage Capitalism, rid it of crises and make it function smoothly.

The more Capitalism changes, the more it is the same thing!



## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### HURRAH FOR THE NCB

Who was it who once prayed to be protected from his friends?

When he was plain Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Lord Chandos was a prominent member of the Conservative opposition which duelled with the Attlee government over its nationalisation bills. They fought in the House of Commons all day and, sometimes, all night as well. So effective was their propaganda that to many voters nationalisation became a very dirty word.

But what is Lord Chandos saying about nationalisation now that he is a big industrial boss, chief of the mighty Associated Electrical Industries combine and of the Institute of Directors?

Nationalisation of a fairly substantial sector of industry has come to stay. Whatever I may have thought in the first place about the wisdom of this policy, it is quite clear that every loyal citizen must try to make our nationalised industries work efficiently. . . . As an industrialist I want cheap fuel and reliable supplies and I believe that with a little more working together that is what you (Lord Robens, chairman of the National Coal Board) will secure for us.

Lord Robens need not feel embarrassed at this new friendship. Nationalisation was designed to give just what Lord Chandos wants—cheap and reliable supplies of vital commodities.

The only pity now is that Lord Chandos did not tell us this some years ago, when he was spreading the fairy tale that nationalisation had something to do with Socialism.

### NEW HOSPITALS

One of the things which have missed out on the post war boom is the hospital. Over a fifth of those taken over by the National Health Service in 1948 were built before the American Civil War. Nearly half of them were built before the beginning of this century.

What has been done to put this to rights? Since the last war only one large general hospital has gone up—in Northern Ireland.

To the reformers who have been worrying about this, the recent government White Paper must have come as a ray of hope. For plans are being laid to spend nearly £800 million during the next ten years to give us, in the words of the White Paper, " . . . the physical equipment and the pattern and the setting which will everywhere place the most

modern treatment at the service of patients."

This sounds fine. Who can disapprove of bigger and better hospitals? But we have heard this sort of promise before.

We heard it about the roads and the railways and about the Health Service itself. For Capitalism is full of problems which are left to fester until a government decides to tackle them with heavy expenditure.

Many of these grandiose plans have been axed out of recognition in successive economic crises, when the government has been looking for ways of reducing its expenditure.

There will be more economic crises. Which means that there will be more cuts in expenditure. Which means that Health Minister Powell's beautiful hospitals may never see the light of day.

### EXPENSIVE ROYALTY

Many tongues were clucked at the news that the Royal Family is to have some more money spent on them.

It must cost around £400 a year in fees alone to send the Prince of Wales to Gordonstoun School. The fees, says the school, vary with the parents' financial circumstances; which does not mean, of course, that the school is full of clever, deserving boys whose parents pay no fees because they cannot afford them.

It will cost about £85,000 to renovate the wing of Kensington Palace where Princess Margaret and her husband are living—£15,000 more than the original estimate.

Some critics say that Prince Charles should be sent to a comprehensive school, like a sizeable part of his subjects. Others think that the Princess should be content to live in a council semi-detached, which to them seems roomy enough for a couple with only one child.

These views are way off the mark. The Royal Family stand for the possessions, rights and privileges of the British ruling class. It is, therefore, only appropriate

that they themselves should live in lavish privilege.

And nobody has yet explained how sending a prince to a council school, or sticking a princess in a small house, would help the working class parents who struggle to keep their children at school past the age of fifteen and who have to renovate their house during their summer holiday.

These problems are typical of what faces workers all over the world, under monarchies and in republics.

While the tongue-cluckers do their measly, pointless sums, Capitalism grinds merrily on, providing a fat living for a few of its people and condemning the rest to dull poverty.

### TORY UNREST

The Government took on a slight list last month, under the blast of criticism from many quarters.

The strikes of railwaymen and engineers encouraged *The Guardian* to sigh that, although they reproved the strikers, industrial unrest was the inevitable result of the Government's policy on wages. Other critics thought that the trouble was caused because the Government had not explained the pay pause properly to the workers.

Some standard bearers for free enterprise were disappointed at the Government's refusal to interfere with the free enterprise take-over bid from ICI for Courtaulds. Labour had a go on Lord Home's criticism of UNO. To cap it all Tory M.P. Sir Harry Legge-Bourke suggested that fellow Old Etonian Macmillan is getting past it and should hand over to a younger man.

It would be interesting to hear how a government could explain a wage freeze so that the frozen workers accepted it. Workers sell their energies to their employers, which means that they are bound to resist any effort to keep down the price of those energies, whatever tricky name it goes under.

Such problems are typical of the confusion of Capitalism and are bound to cause unrest as the Government—any government—grapples with them. Critics and rebels may flex their muscles impressively, but when it is their turn to do the grappling they never shape any better than the men they have criticised.

The fact is that the individuals who say they are in charge of the affairs of British Capitalism really have little control over events. And that goes for their critics as well.

So it does not really matter whether or not Macmillan manages to ride this latest storm. We shall still all be in the same boat together.

### Socialist Party and the Trade Unions

Write to SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, for free leaflets to distribute in your T.U. Branch

## ALL MAD TOGETHER

ON THE TELEVISION screens they are smooth and assured. They smile with confident, frank eyes; if occasionally they show emotion they never lose their dignity. For these men are the politicians, who like to think that they are in control. Or they are the planners, who dream that organisation will solve everything.

The impression they like to make is that, although it is always so much better to have them in charge, Capitalism is anyway a sane and ordered set-up in which everything works pretty well. There may be one or two little problems here and there, but generally, they think, everything works out for the best. The men at the top know what they are doing, the world turns nicely on its axis and all the madmen are in the lunatic asylums. What could be better?

What, indeed? For sure, the workers go along with this. They, too, think that Capitalism is the best social organisation we have or are likely to deserve. Whatever worries or criticisms they may have about income tax or rising rents or redundancies, the workers think the world is organised as well as it can be—and whenever they get the chance they vote that way.

Now just how much sanity is there in the world? How much, for example, for the old people who long ago perhaps were themselves bemused by the puffs in favour of Capitalism? We all know that growing old can be one of the fiercest problems of our lives, meaning that we lose our jobs and sometimes our homes and our friends. For the morbidly inclined the prospect of poverty in old age can loom over his youth like a bank of storm clouds on a summer's day. So the old ones have been a matter for the attention of many governments, for a long time. Hardly an election passes without the contesting parties all struggling to get their protective legislative arms around the pensioners. The Tories pull out figures to show that they have done better than the Labour Party on pensions. Labour cries that the Tories don't really care for the old dears of the working class and anyway are a lot of skinflints. Wistfully the Liberals and others wait with their promises to do better than both Labour and Tory put together.

Anybody could be excused for assuming that the pensioners had gained some material benefit from this anxiety to do so well by them. What are the facts? Early this year Codicote Press published a book on the subject—*The Economic*

*Circumstances of Old People*, by Dorothy Cole and John Utting. Did the authors find the subjects of their inquiry living in prosperous ease? They did not. Were they doing alright then, contented, getting by? Wrong again. They estimated, in fact, that nearly two and a half million old people are living close to the state which the national assistance standards regard as poverty.

These standards are based on cold figures of cost of living indexes and so on, but we can guess what living on the poverty line means for a pensioner. It means a cold room in the winter. It means dining off dry bread and an Oxo cube in hot water. It means broken shoes and tattered clothes. These people live like this only because they are too old to tap out the profits for an employer. Their destitution defies the tinkering of the planners and the politicians. In terms of sanity and human welfare it is a scandal.

Young workers also get a taste of what Capitalist sanity and order means. At the end of this month the Government are expected to announce that the pay pause is at an end and that it will be succeeded by some other attempt at holding down wages, under a different snappy name. Ever since the end of the last war, when it became apparent that workers were strongly placed to press for higher pay, governments have been scheming and appealing to keep wages in check. Sometimes they have done this openly, as in Cripps' freeze and Selwyn Lloyd's pause. Sometimes they have done it in a roundabout way—by the 1949 devaluation of the pound, for example. So far they have not openly defied the big trade unions and forced a show down battle with them; perhaps that is in the future. But whatever method they have used, the theme has been constant—wages must be pegged down.

Yet who can be blamed for wanting more pay? Perhaps some workers believed the wartime propaganda which was intended to convince them that victory over Germany and Japan would bring, among other things, prosperity for them. Perhaps some of them think that as the post war productivity drive has succeeded to the point of destroying many of the world's sellers' markets, they can now start cashing in on the promises made to them when the Government only wanted them to work harder.

To workers, prosperity usually means sky high wages. But no sooner do they try to get them than the government

intervenes, shaking its head and telling them that their wages are too high, that they are too prosperous. This must surprise shop assistants and farm workers and railwaymen and many others who earn hardly enough to keep themselves ticking over. It might interest and amuse other workers. For there is very little that is sane and organised about government wages policy. It is like a great game of snakes and ladders in which, for the wage-earners, there are too many snakes for comfort.

Then there is the curious case of British Railways. One of the theories behind nationalisation was that organisations like the railways could be run in the interests of the Capitalist class as a whole only if they were State controlled. Lord Chandos, as we point out elsewhere in this issue, has given the industrialists' views on nationalisation. They want cheap and plentiful supplies and services, even if a nationalised concern must be run at a loss to supply them. But there has recently been considerable restlessness at the big deficits which the railways in this country have run up. Now there is a demand, pioneered by papers like *The Economist*, that British Railways ceases to operate as a service to Capitalism generally, cuts almost everything, but its profitable services and then picks the bones out of the rest. (Nobody has yet suggested that the Government suspend the interest commitments of British Transport Commission, which last year turned a working loss of £55 million into a deficit of £100 million).

Let us make it clear that, although the unprofitable railways may be a sore point to the Capitalists, no worker need worry whether his employer is doing well or not. But it is pertinent to consider the dilemma of Capitalism's experts and planners. What sort of nationalised railways do they want? Do they even know what they want? And if they do know, can they get it?

This sort of disorder is not confined to Capitalism in England. Across the Atlantic, President Kennedy has let himself be seen sipping a glass of milk and has declared that in future no meal at the White House will be without it. Milk, he said, is delicious, nutritious and not at all radioactive. The reason for this publicity campaign is plain to see. Both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations have subsidised milk production and have supported the prices of milk products like butter and cheese. This has encouraged

Continued overleaf



## CO-PARTNERSHIP: FACT OR FANTASY

TO BE A PARTNER, or not to be! Well might Mr. John Spedan Lewis have soliloquised if he had thought at any great length upon the economic and legal implications of the term. Especially, when it is associated with ownership of a Capitalist undertaking, in particular the business known as the John Lewis Partnership which was founded in 1914.

JLP (John Lewis Partnership) employees are all referred to as "Partners," so it might be as well if we take a look at what exactly a partner is. There are, of course, all sorts of partners. Marriage partners, partners in crime, whist partners, dancing partners. There are partners too such as those defined in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*: "person(s) associated with others in business of which he shares risks and profits; . . ."

*continued from previous page*

the American farmer to produce vast quantities of milk at the same time as consumption has fallen drastically. This has created a—dread word—surplus of milk which the President is doing his best to reduce by persuading people to drink as much of it as possible.

This all sounds fairly reasonable until we remember that milk is a food that can keep children alive and well—and that while the United States government is trying to pour the stuff down unwilling American throats there are 650 million hungry children in the world who could put it to better use. Of course, Washington has its own reasons for not sending the milk where it is needed; they talk about budgets and farm prices and taxpayers. What it amounts to is that, even in cases of human survival, Capitalism often cannot deliver the goods where they are needed. Which does not make Capitalism seem a very sensible way of running things.

In fact, wherever we turn there is evidence which makes Capitalism seem the silliest of systems. That is why its politicians—the men who must run, defend and justify Capitalism—sometimes say the silliest things. Yet Capitalism has an inner sanity. Man started the thing off in his attempts to deal with the problems which were worrying him about a couple of hundred years ago. But we should not let it rest there. We still have problems to worry us. And we still have a way of solving them.

IVAN

That is, people who have definite—tangible—legal ownership in Capitalist enterprises and in the surplus value extracted from their employees.

It is fairly obvious that most of the JLP employees do not fit into this last category. If they did, then this would apply to all Capitalist ventures and therefore, all workers would be partners!

Mr. Lewis and the present Chairman, Mr. O. B. E. Miller, would no doubt reply that the employees of the JLP are partners because they share the profits and the risks and have a variety of amenities which they would not get elsewhere. This, however, is so much nonsense; most of the amenities that the JLP has to offer are also offered—and sometimes bettered—by their competitors, who do not call their employees partners. Likewise with profit sharing. The workers in the JLP no more share the profits than do the employees of any of the various concerns who have in recent years taken up the idea known as profit sharing. Workers do not receive profits, unless they have money invested, which generally they haven't. In the few instances where they have, the amounts are so small as to be negligible and certainly would not be large enough to change them into "partners." The point is that workers sell the only thing they have to sell, their ability to work, and the wage or salary they receive is generally speaking roughly what is necessary to maintain them as the particular grade of workers they are; to maintain a family and to produce further potential wage slaves to take their place when they are too old to work any more.

The so-called profits that the JLP workers receive are no more than part of their wage—a bonus as an incentive for harder work. From an employer's view "profit-sharing" is a good gimmick. For if you can convince workers that they are getting a share of the profits, they are more likely to identify their interests with yours. The worker who thinks in terms of "my business" is less likely to come to work late and go home early; to take a long lunch hour or stretch his coffee and tea breaks; to slack on the job; to scamp his work or to pilfer. He is the sort who is going to switch off unnecessary electric lights or machinery; make sure that stationery and other materials are not wasted; and report to the management the people who do those things. With a bunch of workers like this, any

management is likely to see an increase in its profits. This type of worker would, of course, never dream of striking, for he would conceive it as being against his interests.

Profit is unearned income—part of surplus value—something for nothing. It is the wealth produced by workers which is unpaid and only goes to those who have money invested in stocks and shares. This hardly applies to the JLP workers. They are taken on in the same manner as other workers. They are hired and fired according to the dictates of Capitalism. If a particular branch of the JLP proves to be unprofitable, it may be sold and the employees fired, with the possible exception of a few higher executives who can be usefully transferred elsewhere. If any of the workers employed by the JLP fail to make the grade as surplus value producers, they get their cards, or as they say "their membership is terminated." When this happens, it is no good pleading that you are a partner, for the JLP is only concerned with economic facts, not fantasies.

If any of the so-called partners are caught taking some of the wealth they are supposed to own, or even suspected of doing so, they are sacked—just as they would be by any other Capitalist employer. The truth of this was recently rammed home to a few misguided employees of the JLP who apparently took the "partnership" gospel a little too literally, for according to the *Guardian* (11/9/61): "During the past six months the John Lewis Partnership prosecuted eight partners for dishonesty, and all of them were convicted. . . . In addition, 15 partners lost their membership for similar reasons."

Another aspect that is supposed to set the JLP apart from other Capitalist concerns is its committees and councils. These are supposed to be democratic bodies, but in fact have a large percentage of members nominated by the management, and in any case are nearly always biased in favour of the management. This is particularly true of the General Council of the firm. However, even if they were democratically based and the JLP workers tried to use them to further their interests, it would not make a lot of difference, for none of these bodies has any real power. This is vested—as in all Capitalist concerns—in the people who have the legal ownership; in this case in the Board of Directors and the Chairman. This is the body that makes the real decisions, the financial decisions, and decides whether a business shall be bought or sold, and so on.

It can thus be seen that JLP workers are, if anything, worse off than workers employed elsewhere, for in addition to

the economic hazards of Capitalism, they are continually confronted with that diabolical device, the dossier.

However, the workers of the JLP are not "burdened" (if that is the expression) with the risks of the business, any more than any other employees are. If JLP went bust, the workers would obviously seek re-employment elsewhere. The risks of the business belong to the people who invest their money in the JLP as a going Capitalist concern, and who receive interest in return for such investment. This interest does not come out of thin air; it is wrung from the labour of the

workers in JLP.

Although it is highly unlikely that such a successful profit-making concern as the JLP will wind up its affairs in the foreseeable future, one can be sure that if this did happen, the ex-workers would really be able to see who actually owned the company. It would be those people who had the necessary legal documents proving their ownership, not workers who happen to be called partners. Imagine applying to the Official Receiver for a share of whatever was realised when the assets were liquidated, on the strength of having been called a partner during the

period of your employment!

It would do the workers in the JLP and other co-partnerships a lot of good if they were to think deeply and to ask themselves why their employers refer to them as partners and not employees. It is rather like the fox telling the chickens that they are foxes. The main reason for co-partnership is, of course, to help keep Capitalism running as smoothly as possible. The aim is to reconcile some of the system's class antagonism. For while workers accept Capitalism they will not be looking for an alternative.

JONQUIL

### Finance and Industry

## HOW MANY MILLIONAIRES

WHEN THE Inland Revenue Report for the year 1960-61 was published in January it showed that while in the previous year there had been 66 individuals with incomes above £100,000 a year, the number has now dropped to 60. The *Evening News* called it "Britain's Vanishing Millionaires."

It is not the Inland Revenue officials who are responsible for calling these people millionaires, but the newspapers have long worked on the assumption that when a man's income, before payment of tax, gets above the £100,000 mark (roughly £2,000 a week) his property of all kinds is probably above £1,000,000.

The number has varied a great deal. In 1938 it was 99. Then it dropped more or less steadily till it touched 38 in 1949 and 37 in 1952. Then it started rising again and reached 67 in 1958 before declining to 66 and now to 60.

In this century the peak seems to have been reached in 1921 when they numbered 208. As taxation is much higher and the purchasing power of each pound is much less than it was then, the very rich must find that things aren't what they used to be. Even so, taking the official figures for 1958-9, the 2,700 people who had incomes over £20,000 had an average income of about £34,400 before paying tax and were left with an average of about £5,550 after paying tax—about £100 a week.

But Mr. Bernard Harris, city editor of the *Sunday Express* (5/11/62) gave it as his view that the number of people in the millionaire class as regards ownership of property far exceeds the number with incomes above £100,000 a year. His explanation is that in order to avoid high

death duties most of the very rich take steps in time to hand over the bulk of their property to their heirs.

. . . for every one who died a millionaire there were probably 10 who divested themselves of part of their wealth in order to lose that distinction and qualify for smaller death duties. So it is a pretty safe conjecture that the number of millionaires and tax-conscious ex-millionaires in Britain today is well over a thousand.

AS AN EXAMPLE of this business of transferring property to escape heavy death duties the *Daily Express* (8/2/62) had the following:

The Earl of St. Germans, 48, who has had a remarkable success with a London bookmaking firm called Nicholas Eliot, is to make over all his family estates, worth around £1,000,000, to his 21 year old son and heir Lord Eliot.

The estates to be transferred include 6,000 acres in Cornwall, but not the turf accounting business.

### A nice job

In the House of Commons on January 30 the Assistant Postmaster General, Miss Mervin Pike, was asked what is the weekly wage of Post Office men, Cleaners, Doorkeepers and Liftmen. She replied: "£8 16s. a week. The rates in outer and inner London are greater by 10s. to £1 respectively. This is the same as is paid to non-industrial male cleaners in the Civil Service generally."

. . . Asked if this wage is not ridiculously low Miss Pike, who clearly

lacked the inclination to attempt to justify it, took refuge in the argument that inquiry had shown Post Office cleaners to be getting more than is paid in industry generally.

These cleaners and others are among the Post Office workers whose claim for higher pay the Government rejected last year.

### Accidents

This century has witnessed a great increase in the number of industrial accidents, that is to say, in the number of accidents that have to be reported and become recorded in official publications. But what of those that do not have to be reported?

The reportable accidents are those which are fatal or which disable the worker for more than three days from earning full wages for the work at which he is employed.

Within this definition the Ministry of Labour reported 217 deaths and 16,934 accidents in the building trades in the year 1960 (*Labour Gazette*, April, 1961).

But, according to a building trade employer, Mr. Peter Trench, the total number of accidents is enormously greater.

Writing in the *Financial Times Building and Contracting Supplement* recently, Mr. Trench, who is Director of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, estimates that for





every reported accident there are 30 or 40 that do not have to be reported. And he puts the total number of accidents in the building trades at 500,000 a year or nearly 10,000 a week.

He records that accidents have been increasing in spite of propaganda designed to lessen the number. He gave his opinion as to the reason:

Despite all the publicity and propaganda there are still far too many building firms in which little or no direct responsibility is accepted for seeing that accidents are prevented from happening; and there are still too many operatives adopting the metaphorically fatal attitude of 'couldn't care less' which all too often becomes fatal in reality.

He records the opinion of others that one of the causes is the greater size and complexity of modern buildings.

## The New Men in Russian Industry

The emergence of a new social group is not necessarily dramatic or even at first obvious, but there are clear signs that new men are entering on to the political stage in Russia. In an article "New Pressures are growing up in Russia," the Soviet Correspondent of the *Financial Times* recently noted that among the people who backed and to some extent forced Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinist Terror at last year's Party Congress in Moscow are "the younger professional managers."

These Party Professionals have as their principal job, the supervision of the running of the economy in their respective areas of the country. Like other young educated people in the Soviet Union, they enjoy a good standard of living, and are in a position to know that the country's economic position can be improved much further still if sensible policies are assured. An obvious prerequisite of stable life for everyone is that there should be no repetition of the police rule, with arbitrary arrests and executions of Stalin's time.

David Floyd, in the *Sunday Telegraph* (26/11/61), expressing a similar view, quoted from a recent book on the history of the Russian Security Services, by Boris Lewytzkyj:

The worker or technician responsible with the aid of the most up-to-date machinery for the whole industrial process, cannot carry out his duties properly unless he has considerable freedom of decision. No scientist can make progress with his terribly difficult intellectual work if he is constantly aware that the failure of an experiment may be labelled as an

act of sabotage by some primitive policeman.

The "historical role" of the terror in the Soviet Union is finished. At the present time the Soviet leaders could achieve nothing by terror, at the best they could destroy the foundations of their own power.

## The Manager's Life

On the same subject, interesting details about the life of a factory manager were given some time ago in articles written by a Russian factory manager and his English-born wife who recently left Russia.

He and his wife had no complaint about their financial position in Russia, though the husband, Ignat Ovsyannikov, did remark that sometimes a skilled worker in the factory might take home more pay than he did as manager.

As manager he had

the very comfortable living of 6,000 roubles per month, six times a Soviet working man's wage, and as much as the salary paid to a Minister of a Soviet Republic.

One of the features of the life of the factory manager and other people "in authority" is the way they are cut off from contact with the ordinary workers outside the factory:

Anyone who has any authority at all in the Soviet Union is cut off from the ordinary people. It is, for example, impossible for a factory manager or party secretary to use the ordinary restaurants in his town. He would be likely to meet his employees on equal terms and that would not do. The managerial class is isolated from the rest of society. If a man is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party he will ever have a personal bodyguard to accompany him everywhere.

Arrangements are made for the manager's family to buy food at special stores, and to eat in closed restaurants. They also have special medical services "for the upper class of Soviet society." They have their own clinics and sanatoria where they get the best of treatment. Members of the Central Committee and the Government have luxurious rest homes on the Black Sea coast." (*Sunday Telegraph*, 13/7/61).

It is all remarkably like life as it is lived by the favoured few here or anywhere else in the world.

H.

## RAY KELLAR

Ray Kellar, an old member in years and Party service died at the age of eighty on the 27th November 1961. He was an active member from the early twenties and, in spite of several illnesses necessitating hospital treatment, he remained as active as his health permitted until the late forties. After that time his interest in the Party had to remain, of necessity, almost entirely academic. He corresponded as vigorously as he used to speak at Branch meetings and never lost that perennial optimism which is the hallmark of the Socialist.

Members of the Birmingham Branch fortunate enough to meet him during his active period remember with affection his fiery and uncompromising adherence to the hostility clause, his profound hatred of hypocrisy and, in happy contrast, his old world courtesy and his unflinching patience with those of us who, as newcomers, were struggling to master the concept of socialism.

H.J.G.

## BOOKS

# THE WEST INDIES: WHAT NEXT?

## The West Indies and their Future

by Daniel Guérin, Dennis Dobson, 18s.

THIS BOOK is a serious attempt to consider the West Indies' history and their future from a "left wing" viewpoint (coloured very strongly by Negro nationalism). Now this is a change from the usual run of travel books and "histories" produced by well-meaning English writers who pass rapidly through the Caribbean on a no doubt pleasant working holiday. But the book's "left wing" angle (the words masses, plutocracy, and reactionary occur frequently) cannot excuse some basic defects.

Guérin states that he visited some of the islands in 1955, but the book was not published until 1961. There have been many constitutional and social changes in the West Indies since 1955: for instance, Guérin makes much of racial prejudice and singles out especially, the French islands and an oilfield in Trinidad. The behaviour of the white inhabitants of the French islands (known as *Békés*) is no doubt, even now, good for a sound beating from anyone whose ideas are not completely dominated by the doctrines of, say, the Navy League, circa 1910. Martinique and Guadeloupe are still very much French colonial possessions, and the outlook of their *békés* is probably no different from that of their counterparts in Algeria—small wonder that M. Guérin can enjoy himself at their expense. But to describe the behaviour of the *békés* as typical of social behaviour generally in the West Indies is like describing the behaviour and outlook of retired generals in Bournemouth and Cheltenham as being typical of the average British citizen. Rather, in the British islands at any rate, racial prejudice nowadays takes the form of Negro versus East Indian, or manifests itself in vague anti-white sentiments.

M. Guérin's description of the segregation of workers in the Trinidad oilfields into whites ("with enormous material advantages") and coloured ("who must do with a minimal wage") both begs the question and is many years out of date. In the first place, the oil industry is highly technical and, until recently, the West Indies just could not provide men to fill certain skilled positions: hence the expatriates who had to be offered considerable inducements to live and work

in the tropics. Secondly, oil companies, wishing to keep in with the Trinidad Government to ensure the continuation of the present, favourable, oil tax, have trained local men for senior posts with the companies. It is now common for coloured workers to occupy bungalows in the senior staff compounds and to rub shoulders with their white colleagues in the senior oilfield clubs on terms of social equality.

M. Guérin discusses some major problems of the West Indian (capitalist) economy—monoculture, the high cost of living, overpopulation, etc.—problems which have been described in greater detail if not with such "progressive" zeal by Parry and Sherlock in *A Short History of the West Indies* (incidentally, Parry and Sherlock's book, although written from the "establishment" angle, is an entertaining and comprehensive source of knowledge for workers interested in the West Indies).

## Immigration

Of course, these problems are mainly problems for the Capitalist class. The really pressing problem facing the West Indian worker (and his fellow-workers in other parts of the world) is not overpopulation, monoculture, high cost of living, etc., but the fact that he is a member of the working class. Needless to say, solving the West Indies' worker's problem by ending his wage-slavery has never featured in the programmes of the Capitalist economists and politicians who have propounded various "solutions" to the peculiar predicament the West Indian section of the Capitalist class is in.

M. Guérin correctly pours scorn on those reformers who attempt to curb the birth-rates in the West Indian territories by programmes of birth-control. Then there is the safety-valve for the pressure of unemployment in the West Indies—emigration. West Indian governments, especially those with high levels of unemployment, have encouraged emigration to the United Kingdom: all other countries virtually prohibit West Indian immigration.

Now that the steady stream of West Indian immigrants is being curbed by United Kingdom legislation, politicians in the West Indies fulminate against the

British Government for barring the door to commonwealth citizens on the grounds of their colour. These same politicians conveniently forget that coloured commonwealth citizens from, say, Grenada and St. Vincent are forbidden to enter Trinidad to live and work (so for that matter are citizens of the United Kingdom) as, for example, labourers or typists. The larger West Indian islands have strict immigration laws preventing the smaller islands shipping their unemployed to them.

M. Guérin was apparently unable to study "the emancipation movements" in British Guiana and Cuba, a pity because an up-to-date "left-wing" account of recent Caribbean history can hardly be considered complete without reference to Castro's regime. But recent developments in British Guiana are a good example of the wide difference between what a "leftwing" politician often says and what he does. Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the Chief Minister of British Guiana, has been long known as the leftest of left wing, and his frank admiration of Soviet Russia and Castro has been repudiated by other West Indian politicians, such as Trinidad's Dr. Eric Williams. Dr. Jagan hinted at nationalising industries in British Guiana, which alarmed business organisations with capital invested in British Guiana and potential investors. To prevent withdrawal of capital, and subsequent unemployment, Dr. Jagan was recently obliged to state that he had no intention of nationalising any industries. During 1961 Dr. Jagan went on a begging tour of the United States and Canada in search of substantial loans to bolster his country's economy and prevent the present level of unemployment getting any worse.

And what of the future? Here, M. Guérin becomes very pessimistic; one of the reasons for his pessimism is, without doubt, that most of the diverse peoples living in the West Indies have no real sense of "belonging" from a class and a purely patriotic point of view.

Go to any village in the Yorkshire dales: the people living in that village are ordinary working folk, but what is bound to strike the visitor most forcibly is the atmosphere of "belonging." The visitor will be a "foreigner" even if he has only come from Bradford, a few miles away, and the bearing, conversa-



tion, and relationships of the villagers will make it abundantly clear that they and their forebears have lived in the district for centuries; that they belong.

Not so in the West Indies. First, there is the barrier to common communication and understanding erected by the different languages spoken. Then there is the formidable barrier of the Caribbean Sea which separates and insulates the scattered islands. The Negroes, plucked from tribal life in Africa in the not-so-distant past, strive to acquire the manners, religion, and political and social institutions of their former European masters. The East Indians cling to religious and social customs based on centuries of village life in India. The Chinese, on the whole, remain aloof. British expatriates tend to look upon their West Indian existence as a period of purgatory before their return to a wealthy retirement in the mother country.

### Social Classes

Colonial education programmes have ignored teaching any ideas of a "unified" West Indies to past generations; as M. Guérin says: "... in school the West Indian child is given a detailed account of the institutions and history of the far-away mother country, but his teachers refrain from talking to him about the Antilles and avoid stimulating any untoward notions of regional solidarity. It is no wonder that the feeling of Caribbean unity (similar, for example, to that which binds together Jews or Arabs, no matter where they live in the world) has been so slow to take root in the popular consciousness." It must be added that, again, M. Guérin is rather out of date—as far as the British islands are concerned at any rate. Popularly elected governments have introduced history curricula in schools with a pronounced nationalist rather than colonialist bias.

Following "emancipation," three distinct social classes emerged in West Indian society: the white aristocracy, the free person of colour, and the black ex-slave (the hewer of wood and drawer of water). Since then, although a Socialist could differentiate between workers and Capitalists (whatever their complexion), a non-Socialist West Indian has used, and continues to use, different criteria: colour of skin, shape of nose, colour of eyes, and even degree of kinkiness of hair. A Socialist would dismiss these apparent trivia as hangovers from colonial rule, but they have been part of the West Indian social consciousness since the times of slavery and are alive today. For instance in Trinidad it is considered a social advantage to marry a person with lighter skin than your own.

For a person with light skin to marry someone with black skin, a negroid nose, and kinky ("bad") hair is considered a social degradation. M. Guérin quotes an English writer who accuses the Jamaican of knowing "less about the people than the English bourgeoisie about its proletariat... No one in the West Indies talks so glibly of the 'lazy' black as his coloured brother."

Small wonder that sects have arisen in the West Indies, comprising people (usually of African origin and of the poorest section of the working class) whose creed is a semi-religious determination to leave the West Indies and return to some never-never land in Africa; such a sect are the bearded Rastafarians in Jamaica, who demand nothing of the island of their birth but the right to return to Africa, to the "King of Kings"—Haile Selassie.

This feeling of "non-belonging" either causes West Indian workers to opt out (as the Rastafarians do) or to form tight little racialist/nationalist groups. In neither case are they encouraging material for politicians advocating a Federation of the West Indies, or even national unity in territories like Trinidad and British Guiana, where Negro-versus-East Indian racial tensions seem to be as strong as ever. Nor, for that matter, are they likely to be sympathetic to Socialists endeavouring to inculcate ideas of the identity of interests of workers in the various territories of the West Indies with those of their fellow-workers in the rest of the world.

M. Guérin hopes for one large confederation of all the Caribbean islands and their population of 15 million people, including a Caribbean customs union.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass

This, he claims, would relieve some islands from the dangers inherent in their monoculture, it would allow rationalisation of production and marketing of commodities, it would lend weight to the confederation's bargaining power, it would permit the confederation to finance and plan economic development, and it would reduce the present heavy cost of administrative, customs, fiscal, police, and technical organisations. It is hardly necessary to observe that these "benefits" of confederation are of interest only to the rising West Indian Capitalist class.

### Closer Identity

With the formation of the European Common Market and the regionalisation of trade in other parts of the world in mind, it is tempting to forecast the formation of a similar Caribbean common market, with trade and currency probably tied to the Americas rather than to Europe. This might mean closer identity of the different groups of workers with one another, easier means of communication, and more effective trade-union organisation.

M. Guérin ends his book on, for him, a pessimistic note: "The West Indian Confederation has slight chance of being born within the framework of the present capitalist and colonialist society."

The truth is that M. Guérin is no Socialist and therefore mistakes Negro nationalist movements for Socialist parties, advocates "freedom" from colonial powers and, like so many "progressives" is almost paranoid about "Yankee imperialism."

Guérin appears to support the affirmation of the Caribbean Labour Congress in 1945 which was that "there is no hope for the West Indies unless they become a Socialist Commonwealth." Unfortunately, the Socialist commonwealth envisaged by Guérin is no doubt a nationalist grouping of the West Indian islands under a "progressive" government on the lines of the British Labour Government.

If that is the kind of future M. Guérin has in mind for West Indian workers, there are ample grounds for pessimism. Even if confederation is achieved, even if a customs union is established, even if the whole of the West Indies becomes one large politico-economic bloc, the West Indian worker will still have to face the problems of working-class life under Capitalism; problems intensified by the uncertainty of the world market's fickle demands for the staple commodities of the West Indies. At the time of writing, workers in Trinidad's oilfields (considered to be reasonably safe places of employ-

ment) are being laid off because the world demand for oil is rapidly being satisfied.

"Native," popularly elected, politicians are powerless to influence the trends of the world's markets and the policies of the dominant Capitalist powers, however much they may pretend to their followers that they can. During the Second World War, the Jamaican banana industry was almost ruined, with severe unemployment among the banana-plantation workers, because the export of bananas to the United Kingdom was stopped. Similarly, there is today much hardship among the sugar workers in Cuba because, as a form of retaliation against the Castro regime, the Kennedy administration has cancelled the Cuban import quota of sugar to the United States.

As the crises of Capitalism intensify, it is a sure thing that the West Indian workers will, as in the past, be well in the vanguard for receiving any blows that

are being handed out in the form of unemployment, reduced wages, and so on.

After so much pessimism it would be fitting, in these closing passages, to report that there was support for the world Socialist parties among West Indian workers. Unfortunately, such is not the case: most politically-minded workers support nationalist parties with programmes which even the Conservative Party of twenty years ago might consider rather reactionary.

We have tried to show how the rapacious growth of Capitalism in the West Indies has drawn Negro slaves from Africa, indentured labourers from India, Madeira, and England, free labourers from Europe, and has left them in an alien, uncertain land, without roots, without strong ties, and with no sense of "belonging."

Rebellion against European exploiters produced native leaders who eventually

assumed political control, but, as with other "ex-colonial" territories, the workers remain a subject class, at the mercy of their employers and changes in the world's markets' demands for such commodities as sugar, and bananas, whether they live as citizens of a single island, citizens of a Federation of British islands, or citizens of a Confederation of all the West Indian islands.

But Capitalism has forced into existence well-organised trade unions; it has made communication including air travel between the territories of the West Indies simple and reasonably cheap, and it has made West Indian workers think in terms of politics for their future. Therefore, although there is apparently little evidence, at present, of any growth of Socialist knowledge among West Indian workers, the ground into which Socialist ideas may be sown is being well prepared.

M. L.

## Branch News



Another of our **Central London Rallies** has been arranged for Wednesday, March 21st at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. The title **SOCIALISM OR CHAOS**. Comrades H. Baldwin and M. Harris are the speakers. Doubtless as many Comrades as possible will attend this meeting and if everyone brings at least one non-member or sympathiser and tells as many people as they can about the meeting, there should be a large audience. The more people who can hear the Socialist case, the nearer we are to Socialism. The Literature Committees will see that there is a good supply of pamphlets and *Socialist Standards* so that after the spoken word the written word will be available to ensure that the case for Socialism is more readily understood.

**Glasgow Branch** has re-arranged their March series of lectures and titles and full details appear on page 48. They have

passed the half-way mark in their series 'Problems of the Sixties'. The results show they have been successful. Thirteen different speakers have participated, three from London. Collections £31, and literature sales £8. Audiences have averaged 30, thirteen members attending regularly.

The first large indoor meeting was addressed by Comrade H. Baldwin, subject 'Demonstration for Socialism,' and the most recent large meeting was on 'America—Land of Paradox', Speaker, Comrade Gilmae, audience 126. Despite fogs! A social was held on Saturday, January 27th whilst Comrade Gilmae was there for the Sunday meeting. A very jolly evening was enjoyed by all.

The meetings are causing the Party to become known to an increasing number of workers. Things seem to be looking up for the Party in Glasgow and the activities of members are increasing. An article appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* after Comrade Gilmae's meeting, as follows:—

**SOCIALIST PARTY TO CONTEST NORTH KELVIN.** The Socialist Party of Great Britain intend to contest the North Kelvin Ward of Glasgow in the next Municipal Election, and they hope to contest the Woodside Constituency in the Parliamentary election, an official said yesterday. The Glasgow Branch of the Party has about 40 members.

## DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Every Sunday 7.30pm

HEAD OFFICE, 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, SW4

Details page 48

### CORRECTION

In the February issue page 47 "The P.O. Work to Rule article, the 11th line of the 2nd paragraph, the word "adequate" should of course have been "inadequate."

P.H.





March 1912

## RATES AND TAXES

Rates and taxes are imposed to cover the cost of local and national government. The employing class—the possessors of property—in order to maintain their existence as a ruling class, must pay the various charges incurred by employing an army, navy and police force. The ever-growing body of officials they appoint; the numerous departments they have to run to make smooth the working of capitalist commerce; the interest on their "National" Debt heaped up by the cost of past wars: all these have to be paid, and the problem ever facing our masters is—which section of the propertied class is to provide the money?

The employing, or capitalist class, though face to face with the workers they are as one, are composed of many sections, differing in their day-to-day interests. Right through the history of taxation the spectacle has been seen of one section of the propertied class trying to shift 'the burden of taxation' on to another class, and the question in many minds is: Can they shift it on to the working class? We answer, No! The working class do not own property. They exist alone by selling their energy (their power to labour) to the employing class, the owners of the means of production.

The employers take the whole of the wealth produced by the working class, merely giving back to the workers on an average, enough to maintain them in a condition to go on producing wealth.

This portion which is given to the workers—when their masters find it profitable to employ them—is like the fuel put into the furnace of an engine's boiler, or the food given to the horse. It is the indispensable material without which they cannot be kept working. Clearly, then, the expense of carrying on their Government must be borne by our masters alone.

From the  
SOCIALIST STANDARD March 1912.

# THE PASSING SHOW

## Accidents

Capitalism (state or private) is and must be an inhuman system in the sense that people are thought of not as human beings but as workers—animals which, with the correct treatment, are a profitable source of work-days in factories or offices. This is so even when schemes are propounded that on the surface seem to be humanitarian. For example, there is currently an effort in the coalmines to cut down the number of accidents. That is as it should be. In 1960, for example, for each two thousand miners, one man was killed, and five seriously injured. The exact figures were 316 killed, and 1,553 badly injured (*The Guardian*, 9/1/62).

The National Coal Board has now offered £35,000 in prizes to accident-free pits and men during 1962. And how are the prizes to be distributed? Perhaps to the pits where no one has been killed during the year? Perhaps to the pits with the fewest accidents? No; the Coal Board has a different criterion. Pits are to be divided into three groups according to size; and "trophies and cash will be awarded to the colliery in each of three size groups with the fewest work days lost for every 100,000 manshifts worked during the year." Then the men at the winning pits "who have not had an accident involving more than three days' absence will take part in the draw for prizes totalling £10,000." So there it is: both for mines and miners, the question is who has lost fewest work days through accidents. To the Coal Board, as to the old private owners, the miner is simply a source of work days; and even these co-called "safety prizes" are really aimed, not against death or injury as such, but only against loss of working time.

## The devil

There were a lot of easy jokes made when the Convocation of Canterbury, the ruling body of the larger of the two provinces of the Church of England, rejected a proposal to throw the devil out of the catechism—although "all his works" were excluded. And it is paradoxical that whereas the great majority of people have ceased to believe in the existence of any such being, Anglicans are among the few people who are still faithful to him. Even they have only accepted the revised catechism for seven years; at the end of that time even the religionists may give Satan up. The really significant point, though, is that any such proposal as this one, to evict the devil from the official

list of beliefs, could ever gain support in a Christian Church. Belief in the devil has been one of the fundamental tenets of Christianity for nearly two thousand years. But now, it seems he is on his last legs.

Perhaps his temporary reprieve is due to their consideration that, after all, God created him; it would seem hard if the Christians were to abandon him now, in his hour of need.

## Society

Engineers might like to know—in case the news is not given them in their union journal—that their General Secretary, Mr. W. J. Carron, is being seen about these days in the very best society. In the top people's paper there was news of an exclusive little gathering at Admiralty House on January 17th—a dinner given by Mr. Macmillan for the Italian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Besides the Italians and the Prime Minister himself, there were present two earls, a baron, five sirs, an honourable, a couple of Tory M.P.s, and—Mr. Carron.

ALWYN EDGAR.

## Good Reading



Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from  
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

## CORRESPONDENCE | AN END TO ALL MARKETS

Thank you for sending me your pamphlet. You say that 'what is required is not a trust in leaders... but an attitude of self reliance and a determination to understand the nature of the problems themselves'.

What is so remarkable is that you yourselves do not appear to understand the nature of the problem. We do not live in a system of society which is capitalist. This may have been true in the middle ages, when the merchant adventurers, who amassed huge fortunes under the trade guild monopolies "invested" i.e. spent their wealth in fitting out fleets to trade with countries abroad. The object of capitalism is to use the means of production profitably.

There is very little indication that a profitable use has been made of capital (the means of production). If in fact its use had resulted in profit, there would have been no debt, but profit, no need for subsidies, but a prosperous industry, no idle resources and no vast quantities of unsold wealth. Lord Glanesk is reported to have said that his firm, in tendering for the construction of a new liner for the Atlantic service, had no hope of earning a profit, but were merely concerned with keeping their men in employment. Mr. Campbell, the largest wheat producer in the U.S. admitted that he had three thousand million dollars worth of unsaleable wheat on his hands. It is obvious that the so-called 'capitalists' are only the nominal owners of the land and factories which they are alleged to own, but which in fact are pledged as security for loans, overdrafts and the issue of securities to banks, insurance offices and investment trusts.

You say that the aim of the S.P.G.B. is to replace this system by one in which the ownership would be vested in the community. It is inconceivable to me that anyone could believe that the community could own anything. All that happens is that they are permitted to use the means of production and exchange at the discretion of Government officials who, experience has shown, are more tyrannical, more dilatory and less efficient than any one else. Of all monopolies, a monopoly vested in the government is more onerous to the community and more difficult to get rid of.

You propose to 'bring to an end the present competition for markets'. But competition is the only safeguard for the consumer. A market in a commodity is formed by people wanting something and having the money to buy it. If the consumer has no choice, but is forced to have whatever the monopoly produces, the market is restricted; the consumer does not get what he wants, but what he has to put up with.

If under Socialism goods are produced 'solely for the use of mankind', how are you to know what sort of things the public

have a use for. You only know what people want *after* they have bought it. People don't want what a government official thinks are of use to them, they

To the Editor



like many useless things as well as necessities. You say that all persons would have 'free access' to the things they needed; but if all that people had to do was to walk into a shop and ask for what they wanted in order to get it, there would soon be long queues outside the shops and nobody in the factories.

Under Socialism, you say, 'all forms of profit would disappear'.

But it is perfectly legitimate for the worker to profit from his work. The difference between the worker and his employer is that the worker only has to work. The employer has to see that he

works (and as nobody likes work, this entails a lot of supervision), secondly he has to provide the means (the plant, machinery and materials) and thirdly to foresee the sort of work people will want done in the future. There is all the difference in the world between profiting from work (industry) which the community wants done (because they pay for it), and profiting from usury by receiving rent and interest for the use of the means of production. Investment to a business means spending money—on wages and salaries—which if spent mean a profit. The wage or salary of the worker is just as much profit from work, as the profit of the employer is his wage or salary.

Investment to a usurer means lending money. If he saves the money to lend, he robs the workers of an income, because only by spending money can any one earn an income. If he creates the money (as do the banks and insurance offices) he robs the worker of his profit either by inflating the currency, thus raising prices, or by charging interest which is added to the price.

To suggest that man in his present stage of development can be trusted to give of his best, and only take what he needs is totally unrelated to human experience. Man is by nature lazy, selfish, greedy and cruel. In dealing with human nature at its present stage of development it is necessary to insist that men depend for their livelihood on pleasing others. In this way, greed, laziness and selfishness can only be indulged by first gratifying the tastes and needs of others.

Wallington, Surrey

LESLIE WILSON.

## REPLY

We agree that the object of capitalist production is to use the means of production profitably; but Mr. Wilson does not add that this profit is reserved for the capitalists who own industry and the other means of production and distribution. Some capitalist concerns fail to make a profit, others fall into debt or are propped up by enormous government subsidies. Some, like the shipyard which tendered for the proposed new Cunarder, may deliberately incur a loss as the cost of staying in production with the hope of making a profit later on. None of this alters the fact that we live in a capitalist society in which the object of production is profit. Some firms, after all, are highly profitable; ICI, for example, made £80 millions during 1960. It is true that no capitalist can be sure that he is always going to make a profit or even remain solvent; that is an aspect of the anarchy of capitalism. It is why some companies make a profit and others make a loss, why some ride high in a boom and others go under in a slump.

## HELP!

The work for Socialism can never stand still.

There are meetings to be arranged, pamphlets and leaflets to be produced, the SOCIALIST STANDARD to be got out each month. This is enjoyable work for the members who are engaged in it.

But it is also sometimes difficult work.

And the biggest difficulty is caused by lack of money.

We are planning more big indoor meetings.

We are in process of turning out two new pamphlets.

We are aiming at doubling the circulation of the SOCIALIST STANDARD in the next twelve months.

All these activities are going to cost a lot of money.

So we are asking all our readers to help us by sending to our treasurer at Head Office as much as they can spare.

Day by day, capitalism itself is proving the urgency of propaganda for Socialism.

So this appeal is urgent, too. Please help.



The capitalist often has to pay off overdrafts, loans and so on but this does not affect his situation as an owner of the means of production. He pays off his financial commitments from the profit which comes to him because he owns a factory, a mine or something similar.

Mr. Wilson's remarks about government officials and state monopolies may or may not be true. Neither of these have anything to do with Socialism, in which the oppressive State organisation will not exist.

Competition may sometimes offer some slight advantages to a consumer. But it can also be wasteful; it is the reason for armies of salesmen chasing each other over the same ground and for a lot more wasted effort. And in the international field competition for markets and the like leads to war. In any case, for the working class the market is always restricted because the limits of their wages mean that they rarely get what they would really like but usually

have to put up with what they can afford, be it ever so cheap and nasty.

No government official—or for that matter no market research expert—will decide what wealth will be produced under Socialism. These people are tied to commercial motives and considerations. Set free of such restrictions, society itself will know what it needs and wants and so will decide the matter itself. Queues are the result of shortage, of people being afraid that they will not get something they need and having to wait a long time for it. But Socialism will be a system not only of free access but of plenty, in which there will be no need for the queue or for any of the other symbols of capitalism's crises of shortage.

The employer does not need to exert himself very much to see that his workers work. Apart from the fact that he employs managers and foremen to see to such things, a worker is forced to get a job

because that is his only means of living. He cannot make profit from his wage because it is generally only about sufficient to reproduce him as a worker, which leaves no margin for profit. On the other hand, the employers' profit comes from the surplus which the worker produces over the value of his wage and the other capital which has been consumed in production. The difference between this profit and the worker's wage can be seen in the fact that the capitalist does not have to work for his profit. He only needs to have shares in a factory, railway and so on.

Some human behaviour may be as bad as Mr. Wilson thinks. Other human behaviour is heroic, sacrificial and considerate. In fact, it is widely fashioned by the conditions in which men find themselves. Socialism will offer the world peace, plenty and happiness. Men's behaviour will reflect the fact.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

## FOG ON THE DANUBE

FROM A COMRADE IN VIENNA

TURNING OVER the pages of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the interested intelligent reader must surely ask himself where this so-called Socialist journal differs from other daily papers that do not pretend to stand for Socialism. There are the usual features of all the other newspapers: pages of commercial advertisements, pages of sport, programmes of all the theatres, cinemas and other entertainments, Police and Court reports on crime and the daily tragedies of misery and want, murder and detective stories, appeals for funds to help victims of natural catastrophes, to help the blind, the cripples, the orphans and all the other unfortunates dependent on alms and charity called welfare.

Here are a few examples of the way these "Socialist" journals deal with news items that would offer good chances of driving home the Socialist case and lessons for the workers:

A report in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* stated that the 89 year old Lord Bertrand Russell was continuing from his prison cell his anti-bomb propaganda. The paper quoted the aged philosopher as saying in an appeal: "You, your families, your friends and your States will be exterminated by the common decisions of a few but brutal men." These, Lord Russell named as Kennedy, Krushev, Adenauer, de Gaulle, Macmillan and Gaitskell. What did the *Arbeiter Zeitung* have to say to enlighten its readers on the merits or demerits of Russell's action and peace propaganda? Nothing.

But should not a journal and a party

calling itself Socialist enlighten the workers on this, as on all other political questions? Should it not point out that it is not individuals alone who move the world, but the forces of capital? And that the Kennedys and Adenauers, the Kruschevs and Macmillans are only the temporary managers of these forces? Should it not be made plain that if these individuals were removed tomorrow, other executives and lackeys would take their place and continue the same policy, as has repeatedly happened in the past, and is daily happening before our eyes? Was not Asquith, the British manager of world-war I, removed and promptly replaced by another, Lloyd George? Was not the Kaiser (who had been denounced as having caused the war) exiled and replaced by other individuals who carried on the old system until it produced world-war II? Did the system of Capitalism end with the end of Hitler and Mussolini, who had been accused of having caused that second war? Were not Russian and Bulgarian Czars, Rumanian and Yugoslav kings dethroned, only to be replaced by reformers and more up-to-date administrators of Capitalism like Stalin, Krushev, Tito, etc., to uphold and continue the private ownership basis and money economy of society, albeit State-Capitalism? Does Lord Russell really believe that if Kennedy and the other present top managers of Capitalism were removed, all would be well in the world, and the nightmare of an impending third world-war lifted from men's minds? Does he not see that the other pretended

"Socialist" and pacifist politicians like Nehru, Ben Gurion, Spaak, Guy Mollet, Ollenhauer, etc., are equally staunch upholders of the universal conflict-breeding system that makes war inevitable?

### Competition

As long as it is possible for men to exploit other men, war will be threatening humanity. The proceeds (profits) from Capitalist exploitation must be realized by selling the products of labour in the world's markets. This is where the conflict arises. Commercial competition is war. Even when the rivalry is carried on at the business offices and in the State chancelleries, the clash of interests—the cold war—is there all the time and is eventually transferred to the battlefields of the various continents. What is at stake is big business, the question primarily of who can pocket the profits to be made from "assisting" the underdeveloped countries! Who can get in first? Who can "help" them—in truth, who will exploit them and make the big profits? And as the exploiters mistrust and are envious of each other, one tries to oust the other from the market. For this purpose all means are considered, including atom-bombs.

About Christmas time high functionaries of the Socialist Party of Austria, like the Vice-chancellor, and top Municipal councillors, painted dreary pictures of things happening in the Austrian Welfare State. Said Dr. Pittermann, leader of the SPA:

In the days before Christmas we heard of the shocking tragedy at St. Pölten, where four children burned to death in a barrack dwelling. In the country with the highest increase of the national income, a working class family with four children has to live in a barrack, not because there are too few houses in Austria but because inhuman greed does not place these flats at the disposal of those who are in dire need of a home; they are only for those who can pay higher rents than a worker's family with many children. In the nearly 2000 years from the stable in Bethlehem to the death in the flames of the four children in the stable at St. Pölten, usury with the housing and property has not been done away with. There are tens of thousands of flats empty or only partly occupied in Vienna alone, and innocent children become victims of borderless greed.

During the budget debate of the Vienna City Council, councillor Mrs. M. Jacobi deplored the widespread unhappiness still existing in our welfare world. She said:

The Vienna municipality has in its homes or with foster parents 3,900 children whose parents do not care for them. The background of nearly everyone of these children is a heart-rending life-story. Recently one of the boys wrote a letter to his mother, which read: Dear Mother, I leave school this year. I should like to come to you, otherwise I shall have to stay at the home. If your new husband objects, please write to me.

A few days later the letter was returned. On the back it said, without salutation or signature: Sorry cannot take you; must stay at the home. My husband does not want you. Don't write any more, it is no use. You are grown up, go to work! Do not think of coming to me. Please do not come, otherwise my husband throws me out.

During the same debate, the Vice-Mayor Mandl also deplored the "cultural crisis" and said that:

despite all the achievements of the welfare state there are alarming signs of decay, of a sick society. In Austria 1,630 persons committed suicide in 1960. 11,500 persons intending to take their lives were taken care of by one welfare centre alone. In another department 15,000 addicts to alcohol applied for treatment and the numbers of alcoholics, of alcoholic intoxicated

and juvenile criminality and neglect are rising.

The place of the physical and material misery has been taken by the psychological and cultural misery. The invasion of the mass media of Press, film, radio and television into leisure is one of the main causes of the negative, often anti-social reactions . . .

Although the so-called Socialist journals report daily the threatening problems in all parts of the present turbulent world, they never advocate Socialism as a solution for society's troubles and problems. Whether the scene of the turmoil is in Goa or Angola, in Algiers, Kuwait or in the Congo, in New Guinea or in other divided countries like India, Pakistan, Germany, or divided cities like Kashmir, Jerusalem or Berlin, the "experts" of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* will deal lengthily with these insoluble problems, claims, threats and demands; they will refute or support the "rights" or "wrongs" of this or that predatory

clique, take sides for one or the other band of thieves, and so confuse the workers and entangle them in things that are no concern of theirs but only of their masters.

However well they may know that drastic evils call for drastic remedies, however glaringly evident it is—often on their own showing—that the Capitalist system is responsible for the evils and sufferings of the workers, their leaders will not draw the attention of the people and will not have them concentrate their thoughts on the need for the removal of the cause of all the trouble. One does not expect the Conservative politicians to preach revolutionary change as the only way to remove the social ills and incongruities, but parties and journals calling themselves Socialist or Communist and not advocating consistently the revolutionary doctrine and principles, stand identified with the enemies of the working class.

R. FRANK.

## COVENTRY SOCIALIST GROUP

ISVESTIA SUB-EDITOR VISITS COVENTRY. Thus ran the first line of a personal column ad. in the 22nd January issue of the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*. MEET MR. MATVEYEV the ad. went on. Well, the Coventry Socialist Group thought that it would be a better idea if Mr. Matveyev met us. So a few of us went along to the meeting which, we learned later, was organised by the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

The Soviet sub-editor's speech was slow, halting and rather rambling—but this did nothing to diminish the applause which came at the end of it from the hundred or so Russophiles who were present. As soon as the applause had died down, one of our members was on his feet with some uncomfortable facts for Mr. Matveyev to digest about the Russian dictatorship and to remind him that, although the Communists claimed that the Soviet Union was different from Great Britain because it was a Socialist country, he had taken half an hour before he had even mentioned the word "Socialist."

Of course, the chairman had to intervene but this did not stop another member getting into the discussion later. He provoked considerable clamour by using the *Soviet Weekly* and the *Russian Year Book* to demonstrate that in the U.S.S.R. there are interest-bearing bonds, capital accumulation, profit and exploitation of wage-labour—all hallmarks of the capitalist social system.

Mr. Matveyev's replies were evasive and lame. He begged our indulgence; he was not a professional lecturer (!) and was not equipped to take part in an ideological discussion. Socialism in Russia, he said, meant

a planned economy and a rising standard of living—although he admitted that their standards were at present a long way below ours in Britain. Freedom of the press, he claimed, did exist in Russia—witness the readers' letters which complain about this and that and which sometimes result in governmental action. He ended with a familiar-sounding tirade against the commercialism, sex-exploiting and sensation-hunting Western press and went down bravely, trying to defend the one-party State-capitalist dictatorship which is the Soviet Union today and trying to justify its imperialist exploits.

Did the Coventry Socialists impress Mr. Matveyev? Alas, we cannot tell. We can only say that he took his impassive face from the hall not looking at all happy. For our part, we were well contented with our evening's work to dispel some of the illusions about Russia. We made one or two hopeful contacts and we sold six shillings worth of literature.

COVENTRY SOCIALIST GROUP.

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East Street, Walworth.  
March 4th & 18th (11 am).  
March 11th (noon).  
March 25th (1 pm).  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

Thursdays  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm



**DOCUMENTARY FILMS**

Head Office, 52 Clapham High St.,  
SW4.  
Sundays 7.30 pm.

March 4th  
**TODAY AND TOMORROW**  
Speaker: E. Hardy.

March 11th  
**BIRTH OF A NATION**  
Speaker: Gilmac.

March 18th  
**HOUSING PROBLEMS**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin.

March 25th  
**OCTOBER** (Extract)

April 1st  
**LAND WITHOUT BREAD**  
Speaker: C. May.

April 8th  
**ENOUGH TO EAT**  
Speaker: T. Lord.

*The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.*

**HACKNEY LECTURE**

Bethnal Green Town Hall,  
Cambridge Heath Road, E2.

Wednesday 14th March 8 pm.  
**THE PAY PAUSE**  
Speaker: E. Hardy.

**WEMBLEY LECTURES**

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Wembley.  
Mondays, 8 pm.

March 5th  
**FILM—THE GERMAN STORY**  
Speaker: C. May.

March 19th  
**THE SOCIALIST AND TRADE UNIONS**  
Speaker: G. Arthur.

**PADDINGTON LECTURES**

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesday, 9 pm.

March 7th.  
**THE ITALIAN WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT**  
Speaker: Beppe.

March 14th.  
**THE DISPOSSESSED**  
Speaker: S. Gluck.

March 28th.  
**THE PARIS COMMUNE**  
Speaker: H. Young.

**Public Meeting**

# SOCIALISM OR CHAOS

Wednesday 21 March

7.30

Speakers  
H. Baldwin  
M. Harris

**Conway Hall**

RED LION SQ. HOLBORN, WC1

**GLASGOW MEETINGS**

St. Andrews Halls, Berkley Street,  
Room 2, Door G.  
Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt.

**MARXISM TODAY**

March 4th  
**MARXISM: THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

March 11th  
**MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY**  
Speaker: J. Richmond.

March 18th  
**ECONOMIC FALLACIES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**  
Speaker: R. Russell.

March 25th  
**MARX AND THE SPGB**  
Speaker: J. Richmond.

**HISTORY TODAY**

April 1st  
**A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

April 8th  
**THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: A. Donnelly.

April 15th  
**THE FRENCH REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: R. Russell.

April 22nd  
**THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

April 29th  
**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: J. Richmond.

**LEWISHAM LECTURE**

Room 1, Co-op Hall, Davenport Rd.,  
Rushey Green, SE6.

Monday 19th March 8 pm.  
**SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA ?**  
Speaker: R. Starc.

**EALING FILMS**

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing  
Broadway (2 mins. from station).  
Fridays, 8 pm.

March 9th  
**PRE-HISTORY OF MAN**

March 23rd  
**INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN HOUSING PROBLEMS**  
Two Films of the Thirties.

**PUBLIC MEETING**

Wednesday, March 21st, 7.30 pm.  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1.  
**SOCIALISM OR CHAOS**  
Speakers: H. Baldwin, M. Harris.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.3



# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

Official Journal  
of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

APRIL 1962 / 6d



Algerian street scene

## **ALGERIA**

**WHO HAS WON ?**

page 54

## **THE COLOSSAL WASTE OF CAPITALISM**

page 51

## **The Fabian "Socialists"**

page 59



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (5th & 19th April) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, 1, Scholemoor Avenue, Bradford, 7. Tel: Bradford 71904 any time.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 6th April at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950), and 20th April at 32 Ickleton Road, Motttingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (9th April) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (2nd and 16th April) 7.30 pm, The Luncheon Room, Craven Arms (ground floor), High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 71 Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**DORKING & DISTRICT** Enquiries: O. C. Iles, "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel: PYR 2404.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (11th April) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (9th April) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (23rd April) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th April) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th and 26th April) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Linderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th April) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 19th April 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUSSEX** Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

Tuesday 1st May 7.30pm

CENTRAL LONDON RALLY

MAY DAY

CONWAY HALL

Full details page 63

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . . 52

Arms Race  
Labour and the Common Market  
British Guiana  
Northern Rhodesia  
Powers Return  
Nonsense about Race

ALGERIA: WHO HAS WON? . . . . . 51

THE COST OF LIVING . . . . . 55

WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW . . . . . 57

FINANCE AND INDUSTRY . . . . . 58

Back to the Land  
Shadow over Steel  
Liberals  
Where there's Smoke  
Food and Farming  
Printing of Bank Notes

THE FABIAN "SOCIALISTS" . . . . . 59

BRANCH NEWS . . . . . 61

THE PASSING SHOW . . . . . 62

MEETINGS . . . . . 63

SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM . . . . . 64

## THE COLOSSAL WASTE OF CAPITALISM

THE colossal waste of capitalism." A phrase that for all its truth has become a cliché of the Socialist case. Words we use so often that they cease to have an impact.

We talk of the ludicrous waste of buying and selling; of the criminal waste of capitalist war and preparations for war; of the useless waste of potentially productive hands lost in clipping tickets, totting up accounts, filling in forms. But only now and again does the utter lunacy of the whole system pull us up short and make us see it as though for the first time. We are again struck with wonder at the way the human race can go on tolerating a world so out of keeping with its real needs and interests.

A recent issue of the *Daily Mail* told us that the launching into space of Colonel Glenn cost the staggering sum of £150 million. A few days later, a *Sunday Times* article stated that Britain had so far spent £700 million on rocket missiles with virtually nothing to show for it. Even greater sums must be being spent by Russia on similar ventures, yet Mr. Krushchev has just let it be known that he hopes every Russian will be able to have an egg a day by 1980.

We have become so bemused by governments talking in astronomical figures that they lose their significance. It is only by a conscious effort that we manage to bring them back to their basic terms of houses, oil refineries, washing machines, boots and shoes, bread and butter.

In these days when families roam the streets of London looking for a night's lodging, the £150 million spent on the Glenn circus could have built 30,000 houses (we mean houses and not the chicken coops which currently pass for them). For the same sum, five times as many homes could have been provided with good furniture to make them a pleasure to live in. Or perhaps a quarter of a million cars could have been built, or three million refrigerators, or 10 million vacuum cleaners, or a decent pair of shoes made for every adult in the country.

During the coming year, the British Government is planning to spend no less than £1,700 million on what it likes to call "defence." The United States will spend eleven times as much and no doubt the Russians will be doing the same. Every country in the world reserves up to one-tenth of its national wealth for preparing for war. Some of the weapons they make are obsolete before they leave the factories, others even before they leave the drawing board. Many more are scrapped after only a few months service.

Probably no one will ever know the full amount that this country has spent on its atomic programme, and the expenditure of other countries is equally shrouded in secrecy. That the sums are vast is certain.

These are the millions, the hundreds of millions, the thousands of millions of pounds, dollars, roubles, francs, marks, yen, and all the other currencies one can think of, that capitalism wastes each year. And this only in misdirected production—we leave out of the reckoning all the other ways in which human labour and resources are uselessly frittered away.

Translate all this vast total of wasted wealth and labour into



**ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1962**

Friday April 20th 11 am

Saturday April 21st 2.30 pm

Sunday April 22nd 2.30 pm

**CONWAY HALL** Red Lion Sq. WCI

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### Arms Race

In the arms race, it's still flat out. Colonel Glenn got the full ticker tape treatment for bravely proving that the United States is well up in space.

Nobody thought of giving a similar celebration for President Kennedy's announcement that the Americans were to resume nuclear tests to keep themselves well up in bombs.

The Russians claimed that they had solved the problem of the anti-missile missile. It did not take one newspaper long to latch onto the fact that the next step was the anti-anti-missile-missile.

Perhaps the Russians were exaggerating a little. But it is certain that they are working on those lines, and so are the Americans. One day the problems will be solved, the anti-missile missile will appear and will start the race to find a weapon to overcome it.

All of this knocks a big hole in the argument for the deterrent. No great power is ever deterred by the threat of its opponent having superior weapons. It simply sets to work to find an answer to them, or to make a better weapon for itself.

The old, forgotten, puny A-bomb was supposed to be a deterrent. Yet it has led directly to the massive weapons of today. Last month *The Guardian* was speculating on the chances of Russia making a 500 Megaton Bomb, only one of which could devastate the whole of this country.

Rockets, too, are supposed to be part of the great deterrent. But the Russians and the Americans do not seem to put each other off in their grim struggle to produce a more powerful, more accurate missile.

It would be a grand world if courageous adventure and scientific know-

ledge were wholly applied to man's benefit. At the moment, they seem to be more concerned with knocking him about.

### Labour and the Common Market

There's nothing like knowing your own mind, is there?

The Labour Party are one of the two great political parties of British capitalism.

And one of the great problems which the British capitalist class have to face is the European Common Market—whether to join and, if they do go in, whether they can do so on terms which are favourable to them.

So it is reasonable to expect that Labour would have some sort of policy on the Common Market. After all, by this time next year they *might* be in power and it would be a pretty kettle of fish for British capitalism to have a government which had no policy on so important an issue.

But a policy, in fact, is what the Labour Party have not. Some of their individual members are in favour of E.E.C.; others are just as strongly opposed. These two groups threatened an open clash last month, when thirty-one pro-Common Marketers put down a motion on the House of Commons order paper.

This put the Labour leadership in a sticky spot. When they are unable to hide their differences—as in the case of nuclear weapons—they put the best face they can on it by posing as a virile party which encourages the expression of strong opinions.

But they prefer to hide their splits,

the worthwhile things of life and the means of producing them—into houses and brick factories, electricity and power stations, foodstuffs and agricultural machinery, clothes and textile mills, coal and oil, roads, railways, and ships.

Stop and think of this the next time you hear some glib capitalist politician talking of the millions that are going to be spent on a new rocket, a bigger tank or faster aeroplane, another atomic test. You will then have the real measure of that Socialist cliché—and of its overwhelming truth—the “colossal waste of capitalism.”

even if this means them all agreeing on a watery and pointless compromise.

This is what happened over the Common Market. Mr. Brown and Mr. Gaitskill persuaded both sides to settle for a motion which would somehow bridge the gap between them.

Thus the Labour Party avoided an open battle. Thus they also avoided giving the impression that they officially know their own minds on an important bone of capitalist contention.

And these are the practical planners of capitalism! No wonder they find the path to Westminster a hard and stony way.

### British Guiana

Dreadfully familiar now is the news that another leader of an ex-colony, who himself suffered in gaol for his nationalist activities, is getting rough with his opponents.

The latest example of this is in Dr. Cheddi Jagan, prime minister of British Guiana. Dr. Jagan was imprisoned, and saw his young government overthrown, nearly ten years ago when the Colonial Office did not approve of the preference expressed by the Guianese electors.

This should have made Dr. Jagan an enemy of the British ruling class. Only last December he complained to the United Nations that his country was groaning under British oppression and added “... only the armed might of Britain acts as a deterrent to my country proclaiming its freedom.”

So what did the doctor do when a couple of months later his subjects exercised their freedom to protest against, among other things, the austerity measures in his latest Budget?

There are no prizes for the correct answer. He called in the armed might of Britain, to deter the demonstrators and to help keep his government in power.

Did this shock the colonial freedom

supporters, who in their muddled way like to think of the Jagens of the world as downtrodden democrats? They have no right to be surprised; it has happened often enough to condition them to any shocks.

It is one thing for a politician to express high principles when he is out of power. But principles must be forgotten when he is the man trying to control capitalism's waywardness.

Even if it means a Jagan, who came to power on the poverty-stricken backs of the Guianese workers, imposing more austere conditions upon those workers. Even if it means a Jagan appealing for troops from the hated colonial oppressor to put his workers down.

At any rate, Dr. Jagan has obviously learnt a lesson in capitalist politics. Can we say the same for the colonial freedom supporters?

### Northern Rhodesia

The British Government appears to have inclined ever so slightly before the wind of change over Northern Rhodesia.

The latest proposals on the electoral constitution for the territory stirred up a lot of fuss. Welensky was not the only one to get hot under the collar about them; there was plenty of newspaper talk of big splits in the Cabinet and possible resignations at the Top.

All this because one set of complicated electoral arithmetic which meant that the Africans could almost certainly not have won an election were replaced by another, equally complicated, set which meant that they might win.

So far nobody who matters in such things has suggested that the best way, for people who profess to be democrats, is to allow one vote to each elector and to run free elections.

Welensky has probably tried his hardest to browbeat the British government over Northern Rhodesia. He does not seem to have the coolest head amongst capitalism's politicians, so perhaps he meant his threat to use force to keep the Rhodesian Federation in being.

This could mean another Algeria. Welensky must know that the war against the F.L.N. has so far a death roll which is larger than all the white people in Rhodesia.

If the Rhodesian whites do start a war, there will be a grim coincidence in it. For the blood will begin to flow in Rhodesia just as the Algerian war is coming to an end.

So it is that property rights and interests continually provoke war and misery.

There is a point there for the whites who are trying to hang onto their power

and their copper in Rhodesia, for the Africans who want power to develop their own capitalist set-up there and for those who support capitalism all over the world.

### Powers' Return

The release of Captain Powers, the U.2 pilot, threw up some absorbing stories about the panic which hit Washington when they realised that something had gone wrong with their spy-plane.

But panic cannot itself explain the many contradictory statements which the American government put out before they were finally forced to admit the truth of the matter.

They lied as far as they were able and only gave out the facts when the Russians blew the lid off by producing Powers alive and very much in one piece.

In the case of Colonel Abel, who was exchanged for Powers, the Russians showed a much tougher front. They officially ignored his case and have never been trapped into admitting that he—or anybody else, for that matter—was one of their spies.

This is at least consistent with the whole dirty set up of international espionage. Capitalism must have its spies, of one sort or another, because it is divided into opposing blocs who must have and try to hold their economic and military secrets. It is, therefore, worse than humbug to wax indignant about the other side's spies while making heroes of your own.

Capitalism cannot be a free, demo-

### Companion Parties

#### **SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA**

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

#### **SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA**

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

#### **WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND**

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

#### **SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND**

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### **WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES**

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

cratic social system. Neither (for those who are interested in such concepts) can it be a truthful system.

We should remember this, if ever the cold war hots up and both sides claim to be fighting for any number of high ideals. Ideals like Democracy and Truth. Spelt with capitals, please.

### Nonsense about Race

The latest piece of nonsense to come from race-obsessed South Africa is the news that there has been an official ruling that the Japanese are to be classified as white.

Looking for the base economic motive that is usually to be found lurking behind the high-sounding racial twaddle, we find that the South African government is very anxious just now to encourage trade with Japan. Naturally, it would not do to make the Japanese suffer all the indignities which are the common lot of the black part of the population. A Japanese businessman thrown out of a hotel reserved for whites or pushed into the dingy part of a post-office to wait his turn with the downtrodden blacks might cancel his order for South African wool!

As so often happens with this racial nonsense, the perpetrators find themselves getting more and more involved in their own idiocies. On this occasion it appears that the locals find it hard in practice to distinguish between the Japanese and the Chinese. Since the Chinese are officially labelled as non-white, the Japanese are still being insulted since they are continually being mistaken for Chinese.

The whole affair has become all the more absurd because South Africa is now very keen on developing trade with China and is having to consider classifying the Chinese also as white.

All this absurdity brings back to mind the similar racial foolishness perpetrated by the Nazis before the war, in which again the Japanese were concerned. Readers may remember it.

On that occasion the Nazis were in close alliance with the Japanese and were hard put to fit this awkward fact into their half-baked theories on race. Finally, some bright theoretician came round with the suggestion that the Japanese were actually possessed of “Teutonic souls in non-Teutonic bodies” and the circle was squared.

The South Africans have evidently not forgotten this infamous piece of Nazi trickery. It speaks volumes on the depths to which they have descended in their efforts to maintain the myth of white supremacy.



# ALGERIA: WHO HAS WON?

THE CEASE FIRE in Algeria is likely to bring neither peace nor relief to that unhappy country. Those who oppose a treaty with the Algerian nationalists—the settlers and the soldiers—are numerous and powerful enough to keep Algeria under the dark cloud of fear which has hung over the country for so long. The O.A.S. seem to be everywhere that matters. If one of them is singled out for arrest by the French Authorities, as like as not the men who have to fetch him in are O.A.S. sympathisers and can easily be persuaded to let him go. If the O.A.S. don't like what foreign journalists write about them, they can force the newspapermen to go home. They can virtually take over the centre of an important town like Oran. And all this is done by fear; fear of the plastic bomb, of death by a multitude of stab wounds or by the bullet from a passing car.

It is as well to remember here that the O.A.S. came into existence only after some years of guerilla activities by the Algerian nationalists, which the French government had seemed powerless to stamp out. During those years, French policy seemed settled upon staying in Algeria. There was little organised retaliation from the Europeans, who put a rather shaky trust in their government. The O.A.S. burst to the surface when it seemed that de Gaulle was about to abandon the policy of a French Algeria. What the F.L.N. had won by their terrorism, the *colons* would try to regain by theirs.

Now, the O.A.S. outstrip the Moslem guerillas in ruthlessness and brutality. On a typical day in Algeria, between twenty and thirty people are killed by them. Sometimes they kill indiscriminately, as when they drove two cars into the packed Moslem shopping area of Oran and left them with time bombs ticking inside. Sometimes they are diabolically selective: they recently tried to provoke a postal strike by killing several harmless Moslem postmen. President de Gaulle is reported as saying that the O.A.S. is a minor problem, which he will deal with when the cease fire is out of the way. This seems to be rather optimistic—the problem is surely much more complex and delicate.

The French came to Algeria in 1830, after a fleet under General Clausel had bombarded Algeria into surrender. This was the last of the expeditions which the

maritime powers—England, Holland, Spain, America and France—had sent out to deal with the Corsair pirates, who from their base in Algiers were causing such disruption to the trade routes of the Mediterranean. Before the French conquest the country had been under, among others, the Phoenicians, the Romans and the Turks. The French established their word as law in Algeria and their colonisers settled along the coast, planting vineyards and developing the cities. There was none of the incentive to penetrate the interior which other parts of Africa offered their European conquerors. The Congo, for example, had its rubber but for the *colons* the Algerian hinterland had only the Atlas mountains and then the pitiless Sahara. For over a century the great desert withheld the secret of its wealth from the French. And if eventually the Sahara's oil and gas have caused more suffering than joy—well, that is typical of capitalism's discoveries.

## The Nationalists

The first rumblings of Algerian nationalism were heard in the 'twenties, when the *Etoile Nord Africaine* plotted to overthrow French rule. This organisation's membership was mainly of Algerians living in France. After the Axis powers had been pushed out of North Africa an active nationalist movement was revived in Algeria. But it was one of bits and pieces, of sects who hated each other as much as they did the French and who often took time off from their war against the French to cut each others' throats. By late 1954 there were only two Algerian movements of any consequence and of these the National Liberation Front (FLN) was the more powerful and the better equipped to wage the long war for national independence.

The war against the F.L.N. has been a serious drain on French resources. One government after another tackled the problem without success. None of them could beat the F.L.N. and none felt able to bow before the storm of Algerian nationalism. The political instability for which France before de Gaulle was noted saw eight such governments off. In Algeria the Europeans were under a fearful strain and they grew impatient with

their government's inability to stop the terrorism without surrendering the country. Once, they showed their exasperation by pelting a French prime minister—Guy Mollet—with tomatoes. His government promptly fell. It was this exasperation, pushed to the brink by the withdrawal from Tunisia and the apparent intention of the short-lived Pflimlin government to do the same in Algeria, that led to the 1958 revolt which put de Gaulle into power and ended the sorry tale of the Fourth Republic.

If there was one thing which de Gaulle was expected to do, it was to stamp out the Algerian rebels. In the event his policy has never been so bull headed. True, he has made some statements which contradict themselves. In his television broadcast during the uprising in January, 1960, he said:

Frenchmen of Algeria, how can you listen to the liars and conspirators who tell you that, in granting their free choice to the Algerians, France and de Gaulle want to abandon you, to withdraw from Algeria, and to surrender it to the rebellion?

But in fact de Gaulle was contemplating doing just that. Earlier in the same broadcast he said:

... I have taken in the name of France this decision: the Algerians shall have the free choice of their fate... it will be the Algerians who will say what they wish to be.

Yet beneath this apparent confusion, de Gaulle has been firmly if slowly pushing a policy of independence for Algeria. Up to now he has dealt skilfully with the opposition to his policy. All this has earned him the hatred of the very men who put him in power.

The opposition to de Gaulle is indeed formidable. There are the European settlers, who grow the grapes and who run the banking and commercial life of the country. Many of these are poor—a settler working class, in fact. But some of them are rich and there are about a dozen landowners who we can call very rich. The Moslem farmers outnumber their European counterparts by nearly thirty to one, but they own less than three times as much land. The big farms and the best land belong to the *colons*. Settler interests are always in the thick

of the trouble when a colonial power plans to hand out independence. The Europeans in Algeria—some of them French, some Spaniards, Maltese, Italians and Jews—are a pressure group which any capitalist government would find it hard to deal with.

## French Army

Then there is the French army, which has built the roads, the railways, and the hospitals in Algeria, has supplied the doctors, teachers and engineers, and has looked upon the country as a tiresome but helpless baby. Take away the French army and running Algeria as capitalism says it must be run—profitably—is going to be a difficult matter. It is typical of French governments that they should have given the army its head in Algeria. For they have never really come to grips with their military and taught them that their job is to protect the general interests of the French ruling class. Other capitalist powers have solved this problem. Lloyd George took on—and beat—not only the generals, but the king as well, in the First World War; we all know what happened to MacArthur when he tried to dictate policy to his bosses in Washington.

But this is a difficult time to start tugging the rein on the French army. They have had no real victory since 1918; they were crushed in 1940 and have since been humiliated in Indo China. It is easy to imagine the generals' mood when they learned that Algeria was to be added to their list of defeats. Here, it seems, is one war which the French army feel they cannot afford to lose.

To complicate matters still more, there is the mineral wealth in the Sahara. Perhaps the French would once have been willing to abandon Algeria, as they did Tunisia, if oil and natural gas had not been struck there. De Gaulle once said that when coal was the vital fuel, France had little of it and that when oil was vital she had no oil. The Sahara strike was looked on as something of a miracle find and it has bedevilled the situation ever since. It has also added to de Gaulle's headaches by landing him with problems of distribution and international competition. The French have tried to attract capital to Algeria by offering tax concessions and other incentives, but there was not much hope of success for that policy while the situation remained so unstable.

So it all came back to the basic fact that somehow Algeria had to be settled. De Gaulle is only facing a fact of capitalist life when he recognises that a nationalist movement cannot be held down for ever. When he tries to hang on to the naval base at Mers El Kebir,

the nuclear test area at Reggan and the interests in the mineral fields he is only trying, on behalf of the French ruling class, to make the best of a bad job. This sort of thing has happened many times since 1945, in Africa and in the Near and Far East.

De Gaulle has been warned, by the settlers and the army, of the possible consequences of his policy. There is a striking likeness between the French President's difficulties and those of President Kennedy when he is trying to deal with segregationist towns in the American South. In both cases, the very people who are employed to carry out their government's orders have simply ignored them. There is a clue here for those who are looking for the source of the power of the capitalist class. Ironically, the O.A.S. are showing us that capitalism's coercion depends upon the acquiescence of its underdogs.

## The Future

If history is worth anything, the O.A.S. cannot win in Algeria. However much fuss they manage to kick up when the country gets its independence, it seems certain that the army and the settlers will be put in their place. Algerian nationalists will rule the country and perhaps one by one the *colons* will be forced to leave. The oilfields and the gas may be nationalised so that the profits go to the Algerian ruling class instead of to the French. The Algerian peasant will blossom into a worker just like the Frenchman and the Briton. He will take on a mortgage, worry for his job, console himself with an H.P. telly. He will read of—and click his tongue over—colonial wars in other parts of the world. One day he may, like the South African, forget his past and himself support the brutal suppression of some racial group. The F.L.N. and the O.A.S. will fade into history. Capitalism's grisly wheel will turn another full circle, lubricated by the blood and tears of countless ordinary, useful human beings.

IVAN.

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4



April 1912

## THE COST OF LIVING

In this pamphlet (*The Rise in Prices and The Cost of Living*) Professor Ashley has tabulated some of the statistics bearing on the question of the cost of living. He estimated the rise in prices between 1896 and 1911 to be no less than 24 per cent, of which over 16 per cent or two-thirds is due to the depreciation of gold.

Owing to greater facilities and more economical processes and machinery, the world's production of gold has increased steadily from 24.6 million pounds in 1890 to 93.6 million in 1910.

With regard to the future, Professor Ashley anticipates a slackening of this rate of increase. He says:—

"The annual output may go on increasing though it is observable that the pace was distinctly slackened in 1910. According to some figures in *The Times* of January 2, 1912, from an apparently well informed correspondent in the Transvaal, the yield of gold per ton milled in the Rand fell steadily from 35.8 shillings in 1905 to 27.9 shillings in the first nine months of 1911. Working costs were also reduced, and for a few years in even greater proportion, so that working profit rose; but since 1908 it has been found impossible to reduce costs any further, and working profits have fallen from 13.9 shillings to 9.66 shillings per ton'..."

The question of the depreciation of the measure of value has a very important bearing on working-class psychology. When the value of gold rises and prices are consequently falling, it requires much less struggling on the part of the worker to maintain his standard of comfort. But when gold falls in value and prices steadily rise, the reverse condition obtains. To simply hold on is then to be gradually crushed. It becomes absolutely necessary to struggle for a rise in money wages. The workers are awakened from their torpor, and the habit of struggle is engendered; at the same time the imperative necessity of it is felt.

From the  
SOCIALIST STANDARD, April 1912



# SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM

GLASGOW ELECTION ADDRESS (cont. from page 64)

## War and the Worker

Inside Capitalism everything is produced for a profit. But to realise a profit, the commodity has to be sold. To sell goods abroad is essential for any Capitalist country. In attempting to beat down competition from other sellers, the various governments threaten and bluster. But when the threats fail they go to war. Wars are fought for economic reasons, for markets, for sources of raw material, for trade routes and military bases. The working class of the world own little but their ability to work. Wars are won by one Capitalist group over another. Remember our opponents supported war in the past and will do so again. Only the Socialist Party has taken the correct working class standpoint on this issue—that is, wars are fought for economic reasons and workers have nothing to gain in fighting their masters' battles.

## The Fraud of Rates

At every municipal election the reformers make a great fuss about rates and local government spending. We state categorically that this has nothing to do with the working class. A rise or fall in the rates would benefit certain sections of the Capitalist class and injure other sections, but basically it would not alter the position of the worker. We would still be as poor no matter the level of the rates. Don't be taken in by the job hunting would-be-councillors. Rates have nothing to do with you.

## Our Opponents

All the political parties claim to be different. The Progressives talk about a new broom sweeping clean. The Labour Party talk about their democratic Socialism, the Social Credit party about their reforms of the monetary system. The Scottish nationalists claim what is needed is home rule. The Liberal, the Communist, the I.L.P., all of them claim to have a solution to your problems. We ask you to examine all their programmes—one thing will strike you forcibly. Despite all their various claims, when you examine them, you will find they have all something in common. All of them think that Capitalism can be reformed in the workers interests. All they ask is your vote and they claim everything will be all right. None of them want to change Capitalism to Socialism. All of them support the continuance of Capitalism.

It may be objected that such parties as the Labour and Communist parties have the interests of the working class at heart. After all, they claim to be Socialist. How true is this claim? The Labour Party have been in power in Glasgow for many years. They were in power for six years since the war. Has this fundamentally altered your position as workers? The Labour Party has broken strikes, supported a wage freeze, conscription and war. Are these working class actions? They say that nationalisation is Socialism, but this is a lie. State control has been introduced and supported by the Conservatives when it suits them; and likewise by the Labour Party. It is just another form or method for running Capitalism. Whether the industry is nationalised or not, you still have workers and Capitalists; exploited and exploiter. The Communist Party's claim to be Socialist is easily refuted by a look at Russia where they form the government. There you have State Capitalism, with a working class and a privileged class. The Russian workers, like workers all over the world, are living in poverty and insecurity.

## The Non-Socialist Socialists

Unlike the Labour, Progressive and other reformist organisations we make no promises. The Socialist Party of Great Britain was formed in 1904 with one object: That is, the establishment of Socialism. This can only be brought about by the majority of the working class understanding and desiring Socialism. We make no claim to be leaders, for only when the working class understand what Socialism is, will Capitalism be abolished.

## We make no promises

A world where the workers produce all the wealth yet live in poverty and insecurity.  
A world that burns wealth to keep up prices while a third of the world starves.  
A world that lives in perpetual fear of war.  
A world where a handful live in ease and affluence on the misery of the majority.  
A world that causes worker to oppose worker in the quest of a living.  
A world where men are dehumanised and degraded for the insatiable greed of capital.

## What is Capitalism?

A world where the means of living will be owned in common.  
A world where everything will be produced for use and not for profit.  
A world where war, crime, unemployment and poverty will be impossible.  
A world where everyone will produce according to their ability and take according to their needs.  
Socialism is a new social system. There will be no owners

or non-owners. As everything will be owned in common there will be no money, banks, stock exchanges or insurance companies. Today, perhaps as many as four-fifths are doing work that would be completely useless under Socialism (e.g., ticket collectors, members of the armed forces, bank clerks, etc.). This means they will be able to do productive work for the first time and this should greatly decrease the working day.

## What is Socialism?

Socialism is not a dream. It is a historic development and can become a reality as soon as you, the worker, understand and desire it. The real dreamers today are those who think you can have Capitalism without wars,

poverty and unemployment.

As a candidate for the Socialist Party of Great Britain, I do not beg for your vote on any reform. If, in fact, you want some reform of the present social system, then your vote is not for the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

What I stress again and again, is that in order to bring about Socialism the majority must understand it. If you understand and desire Socialism, if you are aware that Capitalism can never operate for the benefit of the working class, then you will be aware that a vote for any of our opponents is a vote for the retention of Capitalism and a vote for the Socialist Party of Great Britain candidate is a vote registering your protest against Capitalism, a vote for Socialism—the new world.

THE CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

# We are all Socialists now

IT WAS BACK in the 1880's that the Liberal politician and sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, coined the phrase "We are all Socialists now." It has proved a shrewd blow in the defence of capitalism.

If Socialism meant solving capitalism's administrative and taxation problems, Harcourt's Finance Act stepping up death duties and his plan to unify the government of London, qualified him to call himself a Socialist. But as Socialism did not and does not mean anything of this kind the phrase is untrue, absurd and misleading—particularly misleading because it prevents clear thinking about Socialism.

It had a surprising success, being instantly blessed by the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII. Like many habits and fancies of his, it became the fashion. It helped the Tories and Liberals to give a new slant to their propaganda and deceived many simple-minded "Labour" reformists into thinking that the capitalists were being won over to Socialism.

While the phrase is no longer used, the idea behind it has spread all over the globe and all countries now have their politicians trying to protect capitalism while calling it Socialism. Apart from the U.S.A., where some politicians still defend capitalism under its own name, it has become almost the universal rule for capitalist parties and leaders to clothe themselves in Socialist-sounding slogans. Marx wrote that one country should learn from another, but instead of the workers of the newly formed countries learning from the older ones how to guard against the deceptions of capitalist pro-

paganda it has been the leaders of the new countries learning the trick of capitalist propaganda to mislead their own followers. In gratitude they ought to put up statues to Harcourt who first thought of it.

So as capitalism digs itself in in the old countries; or struggles for world supremacy in the case of State capitalist Russia and China; or progresses towards industrialisation in Africa, India, and Asia; more and more it is done under the leadership of men falsely claiming that they are building Socialism.

Of course, it has its variations of detail and emphasis. The new President of Syria declared that the new Syrian way of life was to be "conservative Socialism." He had just thrown out the troops of another "Socialist," Colonel Nasser. Nasser doesn't have to descend to vulgar disputation about the merits and demerits of Syrian "conservative Socialism" because his own variety of capitalism-called Socialism traces back to Mohammed. "The State established by Islam and founded by Mohammed was the first Socialist State. Mohammed was the first to apply the policy of nationalisation in those days." *Daily Worker*, 24/7/61.)

Nkrumah of Ghana is another "Socialist" who clings like a leech to capitalism. He promised "new, challenging, bold and dynamic" measures to build "complete Socialism" and rather outshines Nasser and the Prophet because he has got himself known as the "Messiah" already. Of course, the "complete Socialism" is only eyewash for the voters, and according to a report in the *Observer* (2/7/61) the so-called "Socialism" to-

wards which Nkrumah is moving was "defined by one of his most brilliant lieutenants as 'Roosevelt's New Deal'." What a laugh Roosevelt would have had at the thought that his masterly strokes to keep American capitalism functioning tolerably were really designed to do the opposite and destroy it!

One of the absurdities of those who seek to represent capitalism as Socialism is to say that nationalisation—which is State Capitalism—is not capitalist but Socialist. So every politician who ever sponsored governmental interference in business or nationalised an industry to help capitalism generally, from Disraeli to Attlee and Bismark to Kemal Ataturk, thereby becomes a "Socialist."

If this were really so, the brotherhood of capitalist-"socialists" can get ready to welcome a new member, because it is reported that Franco's government is going to nationalise the Bank of Spain.

H.

**GLASGOW**

**MAY DAY RALLY**

*Sunday 6th May*

**COSMO CINEMA**

*details page 62*



## Back to the land



Last month new information was published about small farms and holdings that is of interest because it recalls the puny results of laws that took years of hard campaigning by social reformers to put on the Statute Book.

Whenever the normal developments of capitalism produce new evils, the cry will go up for a law to be passed to stop whatever it is that is happening. But the optimists who put their trust in this procedure should remember that if there are strong economic forces, and prospects of profit, behind the new development it will persist. The restraining laws will be evaded, defied, amended or allowed to be forgotten.

Back in the 1880's politicians and reformers were alarmed at the mass exodus of farm workers and farmers looking for a new life in America, Canada, South Africa and Australia, because they could not survive the competition of cheap food from some of these countries that was undermining British and Continental agriculture. So the reformers campaigned for legislation to promote a back-to-the-land movement, and the Conservative "radicals," Chamberlain and Jesse Collings, got Acts passed to create a new peasantry, under Collings' slogan, "Three acres and a cow." It fitted in with their general philosophy of helping the "little man" against the big landowners and big combines, in agriculture and in industry. But capitalism just marched over them.

At that time there were in this country a million agricultural workers; by 1948 it was down to 890,000. In spite of laws and lavish government aid to farming it has fallen to 750,000 in 1951 and now to 600,000; so, too, with the small holders. The first enthusiasm for a new peasantry was trimmed to a more modest plan, after the first world war, to put ex-servicemen on the land as chicken farmers and fruit and vegetable growers. Later on in 1934 came the Land Settlement Association to put some of the unemployed into small holdings. Now the Association reports that its smallholders are doing quite well, but there are only 699 of them, and to get on the vacancy list you need five years agricultural experience and £500.

Two experts of the Ministry of Agriculture, Dr. Ashton and Mr. Cracknell,

have been examining the statistics of land holdings. The official figures for England and Wales show about 370,000 holdings above 1 acre with an average holding of 70 acres. But their inquiries bring additional information. They find that 30,000 of the holdings are occupied by individuals who have two, three or more holdings, and that about half of the total (180,000) "are not strictly speaking farms at all," but are occupied by people doing other jobs or who have retired from other occupations and have other sources of income. (*Financial Times*, 2/3/62.)

The fact is that agriculture, like industry, is more and more falling into the hands of individuals and companies who can afford to put up the increasing amounts of capital required to run them efficiently and with up-to-date machinery and methods. Government aid to farmers, costing £200 million to £300 million a year, may slow the trend of capitalism but can neither reverse it nor halt it.

And as a postscript, Mr. R. H. Turton, M.P., maintains that if Britain enters the Common Market, the Common Market policy of combining small farms into more efficient big ones will have the result that "more than 115,000 small farmers will be squeezed off the land in this country." (*Daily Mail*, 6/3/62.)

### Shadow over Steel

To the gloom over motor car prospects come worries over the future for steel. 1962 seems pretty certain to be a poor year and 1963 is hardly more promising with European competition likely to be making itself really felt. The Chairman of United Steel says that there is likely to be a surplus of capacity for some time to come, and the Chairman of Dorm n Long talks about the present low order books in structural engineering being "ominous."

British manufacturers have been pouring vast quantities of capital into the industry, but some European countries have been modernising their plant even faster. They also seem to have been sharper at accepting the fact that in modern steelmaking conditions the plant must be sited on the coast so as to get the cheapest processing of imported ore.

The American industry has, of course, been working well below capacity for several years and business still shows no real sign of picking up. The Europeans are also feeling the pinch and German production actually dropped last year. Even in France, where modernisation has been going on at a hectic rate, production in 1961 was only a few thousand tons above 1960.

There are anxious days ahead for all of them as competition inevitably begins to get fiercer. We may be hearing of some of the weaker ones going to the wall before long.

### Liberals

A Liberal Party leaflet, *Where Does the Money Go?* dealing with the *Cost of Living*, promises that if the electors put in a Liberal Government, they could watch prices fall—unlike the years of Labour and Conservative governments with prices going up.

There were Liberal governments continuously from 1905 to 1915, with prices steadily rising. They rose about 11 per cent. up to 1914 when the War broke out and another 25 per cent. before Asquith handed over to another Liberal, Lloyd George, who headed a coalition. Before Lloyd George went out of office the price level was three times what it had been in 1905.

### Where there's Smoke

In a recent editorial discussing the recent spate of mergers and take-over bids, we mentioned that these were going on everywhere and that there were probably more big surprises in store.

The Common Market has in fact just been considerably shaken about rumours of a big motor deal between Michelin, Citroen and Fiat. Under this deal it is reported that Michelin, the French tyre manufacturers, would sell their present controlling interest in Citroen to the Italian Fiat company so as to develop what is alleged to be a breakthrough they have made in synthetic rubber. Such

the third largest motor car manufacturer in the world behind General Motors and Ford.

As is usually the case, the rumours have been promptly denied by all the parties concerned and there are in fact quite a few practical difficulties in the way of such a huge merger. But in spite of all the denials there is obviously something going on behind the scenes which might end up in trouble for other makers of both cars and tyres.

We can remember some big Continental manufacturer (we think it was the Chairman of Renault) saying that it would not be very long before there were only three car manufacturers in Europe. He was taking a pretty long shot, but who knows that he might not turn out to be right?

One thing is certain in capitalism. The big get bigger—and the small get swallowed up.

### Food and Farming

The best joke of the month must surely be, not what Kennedy and Krushchev said when they met, but what they were saying about food and farming in their own separate capitalist countries. While Krushchev was storming about low productivity and the urgent need to step up the production of foodstuffs, Kennedy's administration was planning to reduce American farm surpluses. According to Krushchev everything would be well in Russia if the peasants would produce more, but in America Kennedy was trying to grapple with the disaster that too much production brings. As the *Financial Times* had it: "The basic problem about the American farmer is that he is too productive." (*Financial Times*, 1/2/62.)

If Krushchev has troubles now, what

bigger ones he will have when Russian peasants catch up with American productivity.

### Printing of Bank Notes

When Lord Dalton died the *Daily Mail* said he had been a disaster because, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he went in for "the printing of paper, and other inflationary measures" (*Daily Mail*, 14/2/62).

As far as increasing the Note issue is concerned, Dalton as Chancellor of the Exchequer was responsible while in office. But his score was only £169 million, so what prevented the *Mail* from recalling other much higher scores? Butler's £400 million and Heathcote Amory's £250 million, and a total of £1,000 million since the Tories came to office in 1951?

II.

## BOOKS | THE FABIAN "SOCIALISTS"

### The Story of Fabian Socialism

Margaret Cole, Heinemann, 30s.

THIS BOOK sets out to show the value of permeation, and what it has accomplished, through the efforts of the members of the Fabian Society. What in fact it does is to illustrate how the permeators were permeated until they became innocuous. Even more than that, the work they did threw up barriers to the growth of Socialist ideas, gave entirely wrong interpretations of them, and hindered their development.

The Fabian Society was formed in January, 1884. It arose out of meetings of a group in the rooms of Edward Pease in 1883 to discuss the "New Life" ideas of Thomas Davidson, an American who was visiting London. Herbert Bland and Frank Podmore, along with Pease, who was its Secretary for most of its existence, took part in the formation. They were later joined by Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Sydney Oliver, Graham Wallas and Annie Besant. Apart from Pease and Podmore, these six along with William Clarke, were the original Fabian Essayists. The Essays were published in December, 1889, with a cover design by Walter Crane.

Although the Society had already printed a number of "Tracts" the publication of the Fabian Essays really put them on the map as they had a wide circulation. These essays were a conglomeration of confused and mistaken ideas, without influence on the Socialist

movement except that in places they showed up the shortcomings and hypocrisy of existing social arrangements. To the authors Socialism signified nationalisation or state ownership, beginning with land, and they aimed at the gradual transformation of society in this direction. It may be added that subsequent rewriting of the Fabian Essays up to 1957 not only go no farther but are even worse. Margaret Cole herself points out how poor the original Essays were (page 26), but then goes on to say:

All this is true enough. But it is also true that, even in the slighter essays, and eminently in the contributions of Shaw himself, Webb (catalogues notwithstanding), and William Clarke, the Fabians of 1889 laid down an exposition of Socialist thought that was sufficiently definite without being dogmatic. (page 27)

Well, well, well! So definite that their efforts produced three capitalist Labour Governments, a multitude of futile Fabian reforms, housing, slum, and poverty problems, in some respects greater than ever, and a society on the brink of a catastrophic H. Bomb War!

That the Fabian Essays and general attitude were confusing is not surprising. The Society did not debar members from joining other political parties. Hubert Bland and W. G. Bland were "Tor, Democrats," Shaw was on the Liberal Party executive, Tom Mann belonged to the S.D.F., others belonged to different parties and groups. As Margaret Cole

says: "Many Fabians were Liberals and some Tories."

On an earlier page (86) she says this:

"Permeation", with the existing party system, ought logically to be carried to the extent of actually converting party leaders to Socialist policy. The obvious candidate for permeation, in the nineties, was the Liberal Party. Already, in London, the Progressive Party was as near as no matter Fabian in its approach.

In 1893 the Fabian Society, along with various other groups, took part in the formation of the Independent Labour Party, but did not lose its own identity, although some of its members joined. Margaret Cole, however, makes this observation:

The Fabian executive, on the return of the delegates, formally welcomed the new Society without great enthusiasm or, it seems, anticipation that it would before long quickly absorb the bulk of its own provincial membership. (page 44)

Later in 1893 a move was made to form a united party. A joint conference of the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Labour Party was held, and a manifesto issued called "Manifesto of English Socialists." Delegates from each of the Societies signed on behalf of their group. This manifesto, as might have been expected from those who took part in it, is a complete muddle. Here are some quotations from it which will illustrate the point:



Meantime small improvements made in deference to the ill-formulated demands of the workers, though for a time they seem almost a social revolution to men ignorant of their own resources and of their capacity for enjoyment, will not really raise the condition of the whole people . . .

On this point all socialists agree. Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end for ever to the wage-system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international communism on a sound basis.

They then go on to state that the first step in the transformation must be the carrying out of certain measures. They proceed to list some of these measures, every one of which has since come into operation, and follow on with this statement:

The inevitable economic development points to the direct absorption by the State, as an organised democracy, of monopolies which have been granted to, or constituted by, companies, and their immediate conversion into public services. But the railway system is of all the monopolies that which could be most easily and conveniently so converted.

How little the Fabian Society appreciated even the best that was in this Manifesto was soon made clear after they had withdrawn from the unity movement. In 1896 there was an international conference in London. To this the Fabian Society sent a manifesto which contained the following extracts quoted by Margaret Cole:

'It (the Fabian Society) has no distinctive opinion on Peace or War, the Marriage question, Religion, Art, Abstract Economics, Historic Evolution, Currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical Democracy and Socialism.' (page 92).

Socialism it defines as 'the organisa-

tion and conduct of the necessary industries of the country, and the appropriation of all forms of economic rent of land and capital, by the nation as a whole, through the co-ordinated agency of the most suitable public authorities, parochial, municipal, local, national (Irish, Scottish, Welsh), and central.'

'The freedom of individuals', it says specifically, 'to engage in industry independently of the State, and even in competition with it, is . . . as highly valued by the Fabian Society as Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Speech, or any other article in the charter of popular liberties' . . . it condemns such phrases as 'the abolition of wages', as nonsense, wishing rather to establish standard allowances 'for the maintenance of all workers', and it 'resolutely opposes all pretensions to hamper the socialisation of industry with equal wages, equal hours of labour, equal official status, or equal authority for everyone.' (page 93)

From the Boer war to the last war the Fabian society declined to state an attitude on war beyond saying that it was no business of theirs. In 1900 a vote was taken of the membership on whether a pronouncement on the Boer war should be made. By majority vote it was decided to make no pronouncement but leave members a free hand, and that has held good since then.

### The Myth of Planning

All kinds of movements are described by Margaret Cole as "Socialist" and so are people of the most divergent views. The Fabians were attracted by any form of government planning and state or municipal ownership, looking favourably on the authors of them. Shaw was favourably impressed by Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin; and Webb finally lost his heart to Russian State Capitalism, as the author points out. But to Margaret Cole herself Russia is still Socialist.

Again, writing in the *Tribune* (30/6/40) she referred to Kemal Atatürk of Turkey as seeing the need—

to establish the amount of 'totalitarianism' or 'Socialism'—call it what you will—which is imperative to the twentieth century. This necessity has been demonstrated in Italy, Germany and Russia; under stress of war it has been demonstrated in this country and in France.

In "A Guide to Modern Politics," by G. D. H. Cole and Margaret Cole, published in 1934, the authors give ample illustration of Fabian confusion. In the preface they say:

The authors are, as they have often stated in other works, international Socialists. That is to say, they believe that present-day economic conditions are demanding an internationally-planned

Society, in which competition as we now understand it and the exploitation of communities or sections of communities for the benefit of others will eventually cease. In this belief they are at one with the bulk of the members of Socialist and Communist societies throughout the world. (page 11)

Towards the end of his life Cole himself wrote a very pessimistic article for an American periodical *The Nation* (23/4/55) in which he said that the Socialist movement had lost its way and was not what it was when he joined it in his early days. He overlooked the fact that this was largely the work of Fabians. He put forward ideas for a new movement and, believe it or not, it was the same futile old Fabianism. He had learnt nothing, in spite of the fact that he had been instrumental in the formation of about forty abortive societies in the past. He still believed in the "intellectuals" that had ruined so many hopes: "Besides, mass parties cannot think; they can only be influenced by the thinking of individuals or small groups of people who are prepared to think for them."

He wrote an enormous amount in his life, so perhaps he didn't have time to think clearly about the relatively simple solution to social problems. He was too immersed in Fabian "planning."

In the *Story of Fabian Socialism*, Margaret Cole relates how joyful the Fabian Society was at the result of the 1945 General Election, that she—

in an ecstatic statistical study (psephologist) of the election results joyfully listed the number of Fabians newly come to the seat of power—229 out of 394 M.P.s. elected as Labour, ten Cabinet Ministers, including the Premier, thirty-five Under-Secretaries and other officers of State, and eleven parliamentary private secretaries. 'Why' said John Parker's wife on being introduced to the next Parliamentary Party, 'it looks just

like an enormous Fabian School!' The comment was not wide of the mark." (page 301)

This was the moment the Fabians had awaited in order to put their planning into operation. What did they do with the power thrust into their hands? Administered capitalism like every other capitalist government. And like every other government they were turned out of office when they could not fulfil their promises. It was the Fabian Cripps who was instrumental in reducing the workers' wages by devaluing the currency; and a Fabian government that urged the workers to abstain from wage claims which would upset their "planning."

The Fabian Society welcomed people of all shades of opinion who would carry out research work in various directions, and gloried in the fact that they were free from what they called "dogmatism." The result was that, having no sheet anchor, they got lost in detail work, and, in reality, contributed little to the growth of Socialist ideas. It is true that some of their members produced good books and studies of history and on various aspects of capitalism—some of which helped governments to smooth out difficulties—but so did other writers who made no claim to be Socialists. It is significant that leading Fabians arose to high positions in capitalist governments and in

government service; many achieving peerages and other honours. Margaret Cole herself recognises that the work they did opened up careers for ambitious young people, many of whom obtained well paid positions in the service of capitalist governments. It may be added that the two Labour Prime Ministers, MacDonald and Attlee, were Fabians and so is the present leader of the Labour Party, Gaitskell.

Thus, although the author is satisfied that the Fabian Society and the work of its members had a great impact on society in various ways this impact was not in the direction of Socialism but rather in the direction of confusion. Even the state ownership they pressed so much has proved to be a broken reed. After all the "uplifting" work they put in, and the adoption of most of their projects, we are still faced with the main problems that afflicted society at the time they started out—poverty, slums, insecurity and war. The latter two problems are greater than ever they were.

The author writes excitingly of the early and enthusiastic work, at all hours of the day and night, by herself and other voluntary workers; some of whom were hard put to it to get a living. It is sad to think that this energy was put into work that, so far as revolutionising the basis of society is concerned, was largely wasted. And yet this was the dimly seen aim that the society set out to accom-

plish. "Planning" was their bugbear, and they had a sneaking sympathy for every government that laid down plans, however futile, for production, distribution and government.

However, as a history of the Fabian Society, Margaret Cole has done an excellent job. There is a good deal of the history of the last half-century in the book that is useful and worth reading about.

The curious thing is that, although nearly every radical movement and party is mentioned—sometimes in great detail—the author never once mentions the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which was formed in 1904, before the Labour Party, and is the only one of the parties claiming to be Socialist that has remained basically unchanged since its formation. One after another the others have died or changed whilst we have remained true to our object and have grown, if indeed slowly, in numbers and social impact. This in spite of the fact that we are just working men and women with no so-called great men to attract the support of the uninformed.

Ours is the only message worth listening to, and the only one that holds a real promise of the final end of privilege, insecurity, poverty and oppression in all its forms. It is not permeation that is required but a revolution in the basis of society.

GILMAC.

## Branch News



This month is going to be an exceptionally busy one for the Party. The **Annual Conference**, Rally and Social (April 20th, 21st and 22nd); planning for May Day Meetings; and in Glasgow, our comrades are preparing for the hustings in May, when they are contesting Kelvin Ward in the Municipal Elections. Their Election Address is re-printed on page 64.

The Party in London is departing from its recent practice of holding an evening meeting following the Sunday afternoon **May Day Rally**, instead an indoor meeting is being held at Caxton Hall, on Tuesday May 1st. Details are given elsewhere in this issue. Sunday, May 6th in Hyde Park from 3 pm will be the Outdoor Rally. Our speakers will be putting the Socialist case from a decorated stand. There should be a good audience in the Park, but we will need every available member there to assist and especially to help sell Party Literature.

**Camberwell Branch** continues to maintain a high level of activity. In addition to the regular work of running two outdoor meetings and canvassing the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, the Branch has been well represented on the propaganda trips to Coventry as well as other London indoor meetings and literature drives. The Branch is now holding a series of discussion meetings. One on 'Trade Unions' proved very interesting as did the following discussions on the 'Hidden Persuaders' and 'Workers and Politics'. Branch members also had the pleasure of hearing Comrade Gilmac talk on his tour of America and Canada.

In spite of the severe weather at the beginning of the year, **Wembley Branch** persisted with its canvassing efforts. The small band of comrades turned out in biting winds and flurries of snow, to play their part in expanding sales of the "S.S.". At the end of April, it is hoped to go further afield and try a canvass in the Maidstone area. The branch lectures were continued throughout the winter months. At the time of writing, a talk on Trade Unions was scheduled for March 19th. Wembley has been particularly active with two indoor public meetings and a film show on the programme. With the approach of Spring and Summer, we look

forward to a successful outdoor propaganda season.

It seems to be more than a coincidence that political and religious bigotry are so often found in the same place. However, it is encouraging to hear how some of our friends manage to overcome these difficulties. In **Grenada**, in spite of the very strong influence of the Church, we have one isolated Socialist (whose nearest fellow Socialist is in **Trinidad**). In spite of the fact that he has been visited by the local Priests and threatened (not only with hell fire!) he holds regular discussions at his home and distributes our literature.

Much nearer home, in **Dublin** in fact, another lone Socialist has found a novel way of making our case known. As well as distributing literature in more usual ways, she has been cutting out selected articles from the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**, pasted them on large sheets of paper, and then billposted them on hoardings, and other advertising sites. She tells us that some of these home-made posters have been up for several weeks and, as they carry the Party address, she hopes we may make some new contacts. Her only complaint is that, for her purposes, she would prefer the size of the print to be larger!

P.H.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE RALLY

### Is Socialism Utopian?

#### SPEAKERS

A. Donnelly (Glasgow)

J. Millen (London)

R. Montague (Belfast)

**SUNDAY APRIL 22nd 7.30 pm**  
**CONWAY HALL**

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE

### Social and Dance

**Saturday 21st April**  
**from 7.30 pm**

**CONWAY HALL**



# THE PASSING SHOW

## Class co-operation

In a society where ten per cent. of the people belong to the owning and ruling class, and where the other ninety per cent. belong to the propertyless and working class, it is obvious that there is a continuous conflict of interest between the two. The owning class live on the surplus value extracted from the workers; the workers have to wage a ceaseless struggle to maintain even a part of the value of their work for themselves. In such circumstances it is a truism to say that the more the owners can fool the workers into believing that there is no conflict of interests, the happier—and richer—the owners will be. Just as the slave-owners used to push the view that really the slaves and their masters were all working together for the good of society, so there is an endless barrage of propaganda from the ruling class in our form of society that employers and employed should all co-operate "for the good of the country." When one investigates what this "co-operation" means, it is what one would expect—the workers must never strike, must at all times devote all their energies to their employers' interests, and must, of course, never be so vulgar as to ask for a wage-increase, or for that matter even oppose a wage-cut, if the employers decide it would be "in the best interests of the country."

## Dozen awkward chaps

Propaganda to this effect is, of course, as common in state-capitalist industry as in private capitalist concerns. And according to a recent article in *The Times*, this propaganda has been very successful at the Littleton Colliery, in the Cannock Chase coalfield. "It has been nine years since anything worth calling a strike happened at Littleton, which employs about 1,900 men." The employers, apparently, are very satisfied with conditions at Littleton:

... the miner's understanding of life beyond Cannock has also been broadened by television and National Coal Board propaganda. Thirty years ago the rather more desk-bound managers on the Chase were very much "the other side" to colliers, and they themselves reflected the narrowest of points of view. Today Littleton's young manager, Mr. G. A. Schofield, calls his union president (Mr. Richard Owen) "Dick", and Mr. Owen says: "We have about a dozen awkward chaps among 1,900, but all the rest understand we have to make coal pay its way."

One should, of course, be chary of accepting the estimates of the supporters of capitalism of the extent to which the workers have been duped by the propaganda put out by employers, whether directly, or indirectly, on the mass media such as television. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly a shrewd stroke by the employers to win over trade union leaders to their way of thinking.

## Good old days

In fact, supporters of capitalism not infrequently regret the days of the Labour Government of 1945-51, since when Labour was in power trade union leaders were heard preaching "co-operation" even more frequently than they are now. The economist Graham Hutton wrote to *The Times* (8/2/62) on this very theme:

I think of those whom Labour and Tory Governments marshalled between 15 and 10 years ago to organise the productivity drive: Arthur Deakin, Lincoln Evans, Jimmie Crawford, Tom Williamson, Ted Fletcher, Vincent Tewson—these from the unions and T.U.C.—and the leaders of our industry from the F.B.I., B.E.C., etc. I recall the Ashorne Hill conference a decade ago to discuss between what we all then agreed was a misnomer, namely, "both sides of industry", their representatives' unanimous conclusions from the 66 Anglo-

American Productivity Teams' visits to the U.S.A. between 1947 and 1952.

Ah, happy days, when the employers and trade union leaders were not only reaching unanimous conclusions about the way industry should work, but were even agreeing that it was wrong to speak of "two sides" to industry! Former Labour ministers can take comfort from the fact that their efforts when in power towards "co-operation" in industry are still remembered with affection by such supporters of capitalism as Graham Hutton.

## Social gulf

Despite what trade union leaders say, however, the facts of capitalism as daily revealed at the coalface, the factory bench, and the shop counter, mean that the class struggle continues. Sir David Eccles, Minister of Education, in a speech on February 8th, admitted as much, and had to relegate the ideal of co-operation between the exploiters and exploited to the distant future:

He told the Conservative Women's National Advisory in London that these (fee-paying) parents should consider the long-term future of their children in a society which would either be united socially or still hampered by the "we" and the "they" complex that so bedevilled industrial relations.

While admitting the effect, however, Sir David went astray when he came to explaining the cause:

Sir David said that one of the chief instruments which created the social gulf in our society was the system of education. Nine-tenths of all children went to maintained schools and the remainder—the bosses' children—to the independent fee-paying schools.

This is an error into which Labourites fall even more often than Conservatives. The divided system of education in our society is not the cause of the "social gulf," but one of its effects. The class division, the social gulf, is not caused by the fact that the "bosses' children" (in Sir David's words) go to special schools; but by the fact that there are bosses. For if in any society there are bosses there must also be the bossed: the one group cannot exist without the other, any more than horse-riders can exist without horses. Sir David must resign himself to the existence of the social gulf so long as he supports the system which gives birth to it; for it will be with us until capitalism makes way for Socialism.

AL WYN EDGAR.

## GLASGOW

## MAY DAY RALLY

Sunday May 6th  
7.30 pm

Speaker A. Fahy (London)

COSMO CINEMA

## LONDON MAY DAY RALLIES

**CAXTON HALL**  
Westminster, SW1.  
**TUESDAY, MAY 1st, 7.30 pm**  
Speakers: A. Fahy, J. D'Arcy.

**HYDE PARK**  
**SUNDAY, MAY 6th, 3 pm**  
Speakers: R. Ambridge, H. Baldwin,  
R. Critchfield, E. Grant, H. Young.

**DOCUMENTARY FILMS**  
Head Office, 52 Clapham High St.,  
SW4.  
Sundays 7.30 pm.

April 1st  
**LAND WITHOUT BREAD**  
Speaker: C. May.

April 8th  
**ENOUGH TO EAT**  
Speaker: T. Lord.

*The films are followed by brief comments by a party speaker, and then the meeting is open for questions and discussion, which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards (where light refreshments will be on sale). Visitors particularly are welcome.*

## SOUTH WALES

A series of meetings are being arranged in the next few weeks in Cardiff and Newport on the following subjects.

**WAR & THE WORKING CLASS  
REFORM OR REVOLUTION?  
THE "COMMUNIST" MOVEMENT  
SOCIALISM AND RELIGION  
WHAT WAGE-SLAVERY MEANS**

For details watch the "South Wales Argus" and "Western Mail" or write to M. Harris (for address see Newport in Group Directory on Page 50).

## LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

**Sundays**  
Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East Street, Walworth.  
April 1st & 15th (noon).  
April 8th & 22nd (11 am).  
April 29th (1 pm).  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

**Thursdays**  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

**Saturdays**  
Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

## Caxton Hall WESTMINSTER, SW1

**MAY DAY**  
Tuesday 1st May 7.30 pm

Speakers  
J. DARCY  
A. FAHY

## LONDON MAY DAY DAY

May 6th 3pm

**RALLY**  
Speakers  
R. Ambridge  
H. Baldwin  
R. Critchfield  
E. Grant  
H. Young  
**HYDE PARK**

## CONFERENCE RALLY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1.  
Easter Sunday, April 22nd, 7.30 pm

## IS SOCIALISM UTOPIAN

Speakers:  
A. Donnelly (Glasgow).  
J. Millen (London).  
R. Montague (Belfast).

## GLASGOW MEETINGS

St. Andrews Halls, Berkley Street,  
Room 2, Door G.  
Every Sunday at 7.30 pm prompt.

## HISTORY TODAY

April 1st  
**A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

April 8th  
**THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: A. Donnelly.

April 15th  
**THE FRENCH REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: R. Russell.

April 22nd  
**THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron.

April 29th  
**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: J. Richmond.

## EALING FILMS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing  
Broadway (2 mins. from station).  
Friday, April 27th 7.45 pm

## "MOANA"

Flaherty's film on life and customs  
of the people of Samoa.

## ISLINGTON

Main Co-operative Hall,  
129 Seven Sisters Road, N7.  
Tuesday, April 10th, 8.30 pm

**ADDRESS TO  
CO-OPERATIVE PARTY**  
SPGB speaker

## GLASGOW MAY DAY

SUNDAY MAY 6th 7.30 pm  
**MAY DAY RALLY**  
at the COSMO CINEMA  
speaker: A. Fahy (London)

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist  
Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street,  
London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son  
Ltd (T.U.) 37 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.



# SOCIALISM or CAPITALISM

Our Glasgow Branch is contesting North Kelvin in the Municipal Elections in May, and we reprint here the Election address of the Party.

## TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF NORTH KELVIN WARD

Fellow Workers,

This is the first time that the Socialist Party of Great Britain has contested an election in Glasgow. We shall run in the same manner as our comrades in London, Belfast and Vancouver have done in the past. We believe it is worthwhile for all workers to consider our case very carefully. You will find it unique. The Socialist Party is fundamentally different from all other political parties.

We intend to fight this election on the same platform as we have done in the past, that is, on the straight issue of Socialism or Capitalism. During this campaign you will see no posters or leaflets urging you to vote for our candidate. We shall not indulge in ballyhoo or electioneering stunts. We appeal to your understanding and intelligence, and not to your emotions and prejudices.

### Who are the Working Class?

This manifesto is addressed to members of the working class. The Socialist Party is very particular about the accurate use of such words, therefore let us define what we mean when we use this term. By a worker we mean all those men and women who because they own little but their ability to work, must sell this ability for wages or salaries. Whether you be a doctor or a docker, a university professor or a street sweeper. If you have to work in order to live, you are a member of the working class.

### Who are the Capitalist Class?

90 per cent. of Britain's wealth is owned by less than 10 per cent. of the country's population. This group owns the means of producing and distributing wealth (i.e., the factories, the workshops, transport, etc.). Because they own these things they do not have to work for wages and salaries. Their income comes from rent, interest and profit which all comes from the difference between what the working class produces and what they receive in wages and salaries. In other words, the capitalist class live on the unpaid labour of the working class.

### Cause of all our problems

In this short address I intend to show the Socialist attitude to such questions as Poverty, Housing, War and Rates. To really get to know the Socialist position I strongly

advise you to attend our meetings and read our literature. Basically the position is that all the social problems confronting the worker today are the product of the type of world we live in. We call this society Capitalism, i.e., a society that has a working class producing all the wealth but only receiving back a small proportion of this wealth in wages, and a capitalist class living in ease and plenty on the exploitation of the worker.

### Poverty—its Cause

At every election the reformist politicians promise to abolish the poverty of the worker, but despite these promises we are still poor. We who produce the ocean going luxury yachts, must be content with a day's outing down the Clyde. We who build the mansions and the palaces, must be content with a room and kitchen in North Kelvin. We who toil all week in the factory, office, shipyard and warehouse, must content ourselves with the cheap and the shoddy yet produce all the beautiful articles for our parasitic masters to enjoy. While we have a subject class working for wages and a ruling class living on the workers labour, there will always be poverty despite the sugar coated promises of the politicians.

### Housing and you

There is no doubt that in the election addresses you receive from our opponents, you will find a part dealing with housing. Rosy promises will be offered in this matter. We ask you to consider this question a little more carefully than in the past. Observe that all our opponents speak of a housing problem. This is rubbish. There is no housing problem. Any worker can have a house tomorrow just by lifting the 'phone. Building firms advertise in every newspaper begging people to buy houses. The only thing that stops a worker from getting a house is his poverty. If you have the money you can have any house you desire. The thousands of workers clamouring for houses are not suffering from a housing problem but a poverty problem. While Capitalism lasts, the worker will always suffer poverty. Don't be taken in by the politicians' promise of a new house. You can't live in a promise.

continued page 56



# SOCIALIST STANDARD

MAY 1962/6d

Official Journal of  
the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

## LONDON

Tuesday  
May 1st  
7.30 pm

### Caxton Hall

Speakers : J. D'Arcy, A. Fahy

Sunday  
May 6th  
3-7 pm

### Hyde Park

Speakers : R. Ambridge, R. Critchfield,  
H. Baldwin, H. Young

Sunday  
May 6th

## GLASGOW

3 pm

### Queens Park

7.30 pm

### Cosmo Cinema

Speaker : A. Fahy (London)

Sunday  
May 6th

## BELFAST

3.30 pm

### Blitz Square

Sunday  
May 6th

## BRISTOL

3 pm

### Durdham Downs

Sunday  
May 6th

## NOTTINGHAM

3 pm

### Slab Square

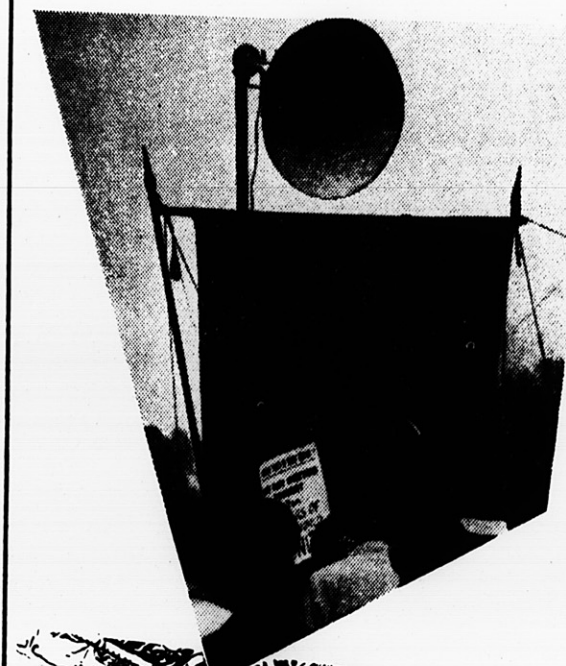
Details

## SWANSEA

see S Wales  
papers

### May Day Rally

Let May Day be an occasion of fresh resolve. The struggle for Socialism needs the help of every class-conscious man and woman. On this day we urge the need to work for Socialism within the Socialist Party. To spread Socialist understanding is the great task of our time: every fresh adherent to the Socialist Party Principles is another step towards the emancipation of mankind.



# RALLY MAY DAY



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm. "Big Bull-Head." Digbeth (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month). Correspondence: H. I. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (3rd & 17th May) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: SPGB, 26 Trevelyan Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 4th May at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 18th May at 32 Ickleton Road, Motingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Carr at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: H. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W.12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (14th May) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, W.1.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriotic Square entrance). Correspondence: C. Berk, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (7th and 21st May) 7.30 pm, The Luncheon Room, Craven Arms (ground floor), High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 60 Alma Street, Coventry.

**DORKING & DISTRICT** Enquiries: O. C. Res. "Ashleigh," Townfield Road, Dorking.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., S.W.1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel: PYR 2494.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Cator, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 7, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (9th May) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W.11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (14th May) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitsea. 4th Monday (28th May) 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (7th and 21st May) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th and 24th May) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road School, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Dwyer, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Linderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 18th May) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.). Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 17th May 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

Sunday 6th May

# MAY DAY

LONDON

GLASGOW

BRISTOL

NOTTINGHAM

Full details of  
meetings on  
front & page 79

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . . 68

Nurses Low Wages  
Anti-semitism in Russia  
By-elections  
Cancer and Smoking

### THE GRIM LIBERAL RECORD . . . 69

### FINANCE AND INDUSTRY . . . . . 70

Trouble on the Railways  
Travel without fares?  
Pause becomes restraint  
The German Miracle  
Vacuum cleaners go International

### SS. TITANIC . . . . . 71

### THE BBC TRAVESTIES MARK . . . 72

### SHOULDER TO THE WHEEL . . . . 73

### THE PASSING SHOW . . . . . 74

### WHAT MAKES A THUG? . . . . . 75

### THE BUDGET . . . . . 76

### CORRESPONDENCE . . . . . 77

### BRANCH NEWS . . . . . 78

### MEETINGS . . . . . 79

### GLASGOW: NEW SLUMS FOR OLD 80

## Taxing Capital Gains

Lots of speeches have been made and articles written about the "unfairness" of stock exchange and property speculators having been able to buy shares or land or buildings, hold them for a while, and sell at a profit without paying tax on it. The people who see this as "unfair" do not think it "unfair" that the wealth the workers produce should belong to someone else.

Now the short-term speculators will have to pay tax, and we are being assured that this is a small step towards making the rich less rich and the poor less poor. Of course, it will have no such effect. America, which has for years had taxation of capital gains, has seen no lessening of the concentration of wealth. On the contrary, the inequality is as great as, or even greater than, it has ever been, and in nine years the owners of five million dollars or more have multiplied from 2,113 to about 10,000.

Wealth-ownership in Britain sheds even more light on the success of the propertied class in holding on to their own, for here, in the past 100 years, there have been many promises and campaigns to reduce inequality with no result whatever.

One of the advocates of a wealth tax, Mr. Samuel Britton, writing in the *Observer* (April 8th, 1962), rejected in advance the idea of a mere capital gains tax, as one that "deserves to be laughed out of court," and stated his case for something much more drastic. He based it on what he described as the "fantastically unequal distribution of wealth" in this country, and urged that there should be a regular annual tax on accumulated wealth itself, not just on the increase of it. He pointed out how easy it would be to collect such a tax because it need be levied only on the 800,000 people who own £20,000 or more and possess between them nearly half of the total personal wealth. (He also thought that the total of personal wealth and the inequality of ownership are probably even greater than the official figures show).

Each time someone like Mr. Britton comes along to advocate a new scheme for reducing inequality he has to explain why earlier schemes failed. Mr. Britton recalls the death duties, which in their day were supposed to do the trick, and tells us, what is indeed common knowledge, that death duties "have become a farce." He quotes one example, the Ellerman fortune, but does not tell its interesting history.

In 1933 death duties reduced the fortune from £40 million to £18 million. By 1937 it had increased to the original £40 million and it is now reported to be about £100 million!

Other nostrums for dealing with inequality have included taxation of land values (in the Liberal Programme in 1892), supertax and surtax and taxation of company profits. There was, too, the movement for a "capital levy" after the first world war, favoured by Liberals, Tories, and the Labour Party, but dropped on grounds of administrative difficulties and probable disturbing financial effects.

If it had been imposed it would merely have been a transfer of wealth among wealthy persons, not a reduction of the wealth and income of the propertied class. And nationalisation in some muddled way was supposed by the Labour Party to have the effect of lessening inequality.

After all those years and all these "cures" capitalism exhibits just the same "two nations" that the Tory Disraeli described over a century ago.

One man who saw capitalism as it really is was the banker R. H. Brand (later Lord Brand) who in 1923, in a booklet "*Why I am not a Socialist*," wrote: "There has always been and there will always be inequality of wealth . . . nothing like equality can be attained without the abolition of the whole present system of wealth, ownership and production."

As a wealthy man who prospered under capitalism his attitude was understandable. By the same token the working class should give up following futile schemes for achieving the impossible dream of an equalitarian capitalism. Their interest lies in establishing Socialism.



# NEWS IN REVIEW

## NURSES

### Low wages

The nurses were among the last to be caught in the official period of the pay pause. Who cannot sympathise with their indignation at the government's refusal to offer them more than a 6d. in the £1 rise for one of the hardest and most unpleasant jobs there are?

We all know by now the official reasons for nurses having low wages. The most frequent is that nursing is not just a job like copy typing or cigarette rolling. Nursing is a *vocation*. Start throwing rises about and soon the hospitals will be full of flibbertigibbets who are not there to serve but to make money. The only way, apparently, to get the right type for nurses is to keep their pay down.

This was not, of course, the argument which the government used over the appointment of Dr. Beeching, when they said that the only way to get the right



type for a tough job was to offer him £24,000 a year.

Beeching was strongly enough placed to demand a very high wage, but this does not apply to the nurses. The weapon which other workers can wield—the strike—they will not use, although the very reasons for them not using it would make it a terribly strong weapon in their hands.

Many of them prefer to show their resentment by leaving the work altogether. There are now over twenty-five thousand nursing vacancies in England and Wales. Forty per cent. of the qualified nurses in this country do not nurse, although some of these have left through marriage.

So the government has the nurses on a skewer. And, despite all the hypocritical sweet talk about humane service and duty, they are quite cynically roasting them.

## RUSSIA

### Anti-Semitism

It is a reasonable assumption that many of the Jewish people who support the Communist Party do so because they believe that the Soviet Union is free of the discrimination they meet in other countries.

What will such people make of the fact that, of the fifteen or so death sentences which have been passed for economic crimes in the USSR since last summer, at least ten have applied to Jews?

Perhaps they accept the Russian government's explanation, which claims that Jews tend to get more easily involved in such activities because they are predominantly engaged in commerce.

Jewish organisations over here say that this cannot be true, that Jews make up only a small part of the Russian people and that the Soviet press shows economic crimes to be prevalent in all sections of the population.

Certainly, Moscow's excuse is awfully similar to those used by the Nazis to justify their anti-Jewish campaigns. It is possible that, like the Nazis again, the Soviet government is using the Jews as scapegoats for its economic difficulties. There is probably as much latent racial prejudice waiting to be stirred up in Russian workers as in any others.

Whatever the truth may be, there is a larger issue which is affected by it. Russia claims to be a Socialist country, in which there is some sort of equal standing about wealth ownership.

How does this line up with the reports from Moscow of the currency specula-

tors, the commercial fiddlers and the black marketeers?

The answer is that it does not line up. Most people in Russia are poor and will stay that way. A few people there can get rich. Sometimes legally, sometimes illegally. Sometimes they get away with it. Sometimes they get caught.

## BY-ELECTIONS

### A Victory?

Will the government ride the by-election results and win its way back by the next general election? They have done the trick before, but Orpington was a heavier blow than Tonbridge and Torington put together.

Elections, of course, are not so straightforward. Here are some of the comments of the candidates who fought the Blackpool by-election in March:

**TORY:** It is quite clear from this small poll that there is not a mass revolt against the government or, indeed, dislike of the government.

**LIBERAL:** This is a message from Blackpool to the radicals of the country that the Liberals can and will win...

**LABOUR:** If you compare the Labour vote and the anti-Labour vote in the last general election with the respective votes in this election it will be seen that we have done very much better.

From these optimistic words alone, nobody would infer that two of the candidates were defeated. In fact the Tory held on to the seat by the very seat of his pants, while the Liberal vote bounded up and Labour's dropped a little.

It is common for the political parties to dress up election results to show that, no matter how many votes or seats they have lost, the whole thing is a great victory for them.

This probably goes down well. Workers seem to vote for anything except the

May 6th 3pm

RALLY

Speakers  
R. Ambridge  
H. Baldwin  
R. Critchfield  
E. Grant  
H. Young

HYDE PARK

permanent solution to the world's problems.

This is hopeful for the Tories, who have proved themselves masterly vote catchers. The chances are that, whatever knocks they dish out in the meantime, the workers will help themselves at the next election to another few years of Tory rule over British capitalism.

## CANCER

### Smoking

Even the most addicted smoker must find it difficult now to sidestep the conclusion that heavy cigarette smoking is for a lot of people the deciding factor in whether they develop lung cancer.

The report of the Royal College of

Physicians was grim news for many ears. Grim news for the tobacco companies, with their enormous factories, modern



machinery, complex organisation—and big profits. They took the cautious line, refused to commit themselves and merely reminded us that they are still looking into the matter.

Grim perhaps for the government. They are skimming over £800 million from the tobacco companies, most of it in tax on cigarettes. If this was seriously reduced by a fall in cigarette sales, the

Chancellor would have some rearranging to do. No wonder he was recently heard to murmur that he hoped not too many people would give up smoking.

Grim for the advertising agencies, some of which grow fat on the millions spent in trying to persuade us that it is smart or sexy to smoke a particular brand.

Grim for some politicians, who may soon have to take a definite line on this widespread habit. One M.P. attacked the report as "tosh." He has a big cigarette factory in his constituency.

There are an awful lot of monied interests involved in the fags we light up. This means that smoking and lung cancer is going to be another of those problems which capitalism finds it difficult to face up to.

Which makes it grim for the smoker, too.

## The Grim Liberal Record

POLITICIANS SOMETIMES call on voters to remember the past glories of the party: not so Mr. Grimond and his band of "New Liberals." "Cut the past," he cries, "assess the present, prepare for the future."

In the light of the Liberal record this is not surprising. The peace lovers who staged the first world war; defenders of individual liberties and conscription; friends of the workers who used troops to smash strikes; protectors of the little man, who built up party funds by selling peerages to their big business backers; the men of honour who, in the end, wrecked their own party through venomous internal intrigues and vendettas.

Why, though, should it be forgotten? "Bury the past" would be a fair proposition if the new Liberalism were really new. But in form and content it is undistinguishable from the old. In form there is the same slick, ambiguous, phrase-mongering, promising all things to all men; the same spattering of noble-sounding but empty sentiments. Mr. Grimond's *The New Liberalism* is thick with the right words: "humane," "civilised," "honesty," "decency," and so on; but nicely balanced with the vote-catching promises of lower prices, lower taxes, higher pensions, loans for houses, and, of course, peace and freedom.

Basically nothing is changed from the past of Gladstone, Asquith and Lloyd-George. Their Liberal governments

conducted themselves in the way they did because their undeclared but overriding purpose was to protect British capitalist interests against attack from outside and working class pressure from within. This, too, is the unspoken policy of the New Liberals.

Mr. Grimond recently gave an interview outlining his policy for a Liberal government. Two of his declarations dealt with wages and industrial relations:—

**Pay.** Never a pay pause that deprives, for instance, Civil Servants, Teachers and others of pay increases which in some instances have already been agreed. Instead a planning authority which would declare an annual ceiling beyond which further increases are contrary to the public interest.

**Industrial Relations.** Reform company laws to give workers as well as shareholders a legal status. Provide tax incentives to induce companies to make shares available to workers.

(*News of the World*, 1.4.62)

If you read part one quickly, and carelessly, it may seem to commit Mr. Grimond to something or other, but in fact all it gives is a promise to call a pay pause by another name. And Part II neatly covers up the main purpose, of protecting the property rights of shareholder, by offering the carrot of legal status to the workers, and encouraging companies to buy the workers' loyalty at

a cheap price by letting them acquire a few shares. It all has an ancient fishy odour. Liberal politicians and business men were for generations active in promoting schemes of arbitration, conciliation and profit-sharing as a means of taking the edge off the workers' industrial action over wages.

It is 40 years since a Liberal headed a government, but as the opposition or as ministers in coalition governments they were always to be found backing up the employers and the government against the workers, and providing legalistic arguments and formulas to justify capitalist exploitation and repression. Liberals were in the MacDonald National Government which in the nineteen thirties actually did reduce the pay of teachers and civil servants without any sort of agreement on their part; just as Liberals had six years earlier helped to defeat the miners in the General Strike. And it was the Liberal Lloyd-George whose Geddes Committee in 1922 recommended saving money by larger classes, reducing teachers' pay, cutting down civil service staffs and giving postmen cheaper uniforms.

In their *History of Trade Unionism*, Sidney and Beatrice Webb told how the workers were tricked by the Liberal, Lloyd-George, during and after the first world war, and by the Asquith Govern-

(continued bottom next page.)



## FINANCE &amp; INDUSTRY

## TROUBLE ON THE RAILWAYS

DR. BEECHING'S role with regard to the railways is clearly going to be a double one. First and foremost, he will be the Government's "hatchet man," with pretty wide powers to cut away the lines that are not making money and get rid of wasteful services. His second job will be that of official can-carrier for all the criticisms and complaints that will come as a result of all his pruning activities. His £24,000 a year salary will, of course, help him to bear the burden of such unpopularity.



The railways are going to look a lot different after he has finished with them. Many lines are going to go, many ser-

vices will be cut down, and many heads are certain to roll. Dr. Beeching has already said that he thinks there are too many people on the payroll who have been only "playing at trains." A lot of people who thought themselves outside the ranks of the working class are soon to realise that they depend very much on an employer for a living even though the contents of their pay packet are called a salary instead of a wage.

One group who will not be affected by the cutting-down operations will be the lucky owners of the government stock which was handed over to them when the railways were nationalised in 1947. This amounted to the tidy sum of £1000 million and was probably the easiest bit of lolly ever exchanged for such a dubious set of assets, with the possible exception of the equally large sum given for the worked-out coal mines when they were also nationalised. If they brought no benefits

of consequence to the workers, the Labour Government certainly did well by the former owners of the railways and the coal mines.

These bondholders have been drawing their £ million a year regularly for the past 15 years and will continue to do so—without the need to spare a thought for the running of the business, nor the slightest worry over whether their dividend might be cut, nor even the remotest chance of their having to put back some of their profits into the firm should things get tight. They're in clover.

All this by the grace and favour of the Labour Party who never seem to have given the matter a thought when they were weeping such crocodile tears a little while ago over the misfortunes of the workers having to pay higher fares for the privilege of going to work. Or perhaps they did think about it and conveniently kept their thoughts to themselves.

## Travel without Fares?

The railways' troubles have brought forth all kinds of suggested remedies. The most interesting has certainly been the one that all travel should be "free," payment for the service as a whole coming out of central taxation.

The idea has not been taken up, of course, but it is quite possible that it will be adopted eventually on a smaller scale—perhaps by some municipal authorities. Certainly it was not dismissed out of hand. In fact, the most surprising aspect of the whole business was the way in which the suggestion was discussed quite seriously. There was none of the usual reactions that we Socialists expect when we talk about the possibilities of everything being produced for use. Nobody objected that the whole of the population would spend all their time riding round on trains and buses because they were free, which is the usual kind of reply we expect when we talk about Socialism.

No, the general feeling appeared to be only that it was too drastic a change to be adopted on a national basis. We sus-



pect it is not the last we have heard about "free" transport under capitalism.

## Pause becomes Restraint.

The pay pause has officially ended. If the Government has its way it will be followed by "pay restraint," which should it be successful will mean that wages and salaries will not rise by more than about 2½ per cent. during the coming year.

In spite of all the ballyhoo, however, it seems that 1961 hardly saw a pay "pause"—wages in fact are reckoned to have risen overall by something like 7½ per cent. The Government, nevertheless, takes this as an improvement over 1960 when wages went up by something much higher, and as a boost to British capitalism over European competition particularly from Germany.

But the workers in many industries are already queueing up for increased wages and are hardly disposed to accept a maximum of 2½ per cent. It remains to be seen whether the Government will stick to its policy and fight the unions if it comes to it, or whether it will again give way and take refuge in the easier method of inflation. It is significant that the latest figures of the purchasing power of the pound show that whilst in 1960/61 it was worth 16s. 2d. compared with 1951/52, it had dropped to 15s. 8d. in 1961/62.

If you work this out it means a fall of about 3 per cent. in a year. Put this, for example, against the 2½ per cent. rise in overall wages the Government expects next year and you see how the trick is worked. The apparent increase in wages is nullified by the fall in the value of the money in which they are paid.

## The German Miracle.

Economic developments in Germany have been giving the newspapers plenty of copy. Papers that have been regaling us for so long with talk about the so-called German "miracle" are now pointing out that after all the Germans are not "twelve feet tall." One thing you can always rely on in the popular press is the way they can switch from one extreme of nonsense to the other—and without the slightest hint of shame or embarrassment either.

In fact, all that has been happening is that, as in every country when things begin to get sticky, the German workers are being treated to a basin-full of the usual dire warnings about the disasters that will follow if they do not go easy on wage demands. It is something the British

workers should know all about—after all, they have been getting it for the past seventeen years.

After having had it easy for some time German capitalism is now beginning to find the going harder. They are not alone in this—it is happening to capitalism the world over. Goods are not so easy to sell nor profits so easy to make. As always, the first reaction of the capitalist class is to tighten the screw on wages.

The German capitalists are trying to do just this and the speeches of their representatives such as Erhard are part of the process. Regardless of their differences when it comes to profit-making, the capitalist class of every country are the same when it comes to dealing with their workers. They use the same soft soap and go through the same old tricks.

## Vacuum Cleaners go International.

Recent moves by Hoovers reflect the changing face of capitalism. More and more are firms spreading outside national boundaries and becoming international not only in name but in their entire operations.

Once upon a time firms expanding into other countries treated each of their subsidiaries piecemeal. The British offshoot would confine itself to the British market and Britain's traditional markets, the German offshoot would do the same, and so on.

All this is changing. Now international firms are thinking internationally. At Hoovers, for example, the main holding company is to be transferred to Switzerland and all activities directed centrally from there. Production and exports will be switched as required to the country or countries most suited to the circumstances at any particular time. It appears likely, for example, that the proposed new factory in France is aimed specifically at the Common Market and that the British side of the firm may be trimmed to fit this new situation.

In the same way, it is likely that the new small car being planned by Fords will be the concern not only of the United States, but of Britain and Germany as well. Production will be switched to any or all of these countries according to which shows the most prospects of profit. The policy will not be confined to the car as a whole, but will involve the components as well.

This development is showing itself in other industries and other firms and is all part of the "growing ever bigger" process of capitalism. It is likely to become more and more important in the future.

S. H.



May 1912

## THE SS. TITANIC

The ship was built to carry rich passengers across the herring-pond. Almost the first comment that was made by the newspapers when the fatal news came to hand was that among the first-class passengers aboard the vessel were millionaires who were collectively worth £30,000,000. This in itself is significant. The fares of those six hundred first and second class passengers must have totalled an enormous sum, compared with which the passage money of the steerage was a negligible quantity. The *Titanic*, then, was essentially built for rich passengers, upon whom the White Star Company depended to enable their vessel to "earn" a dividend. The course is clear from this. The ship was on her maiden voyage; it was necessary to convince the wealthy, whose time is so extremely valuable, that she was a fast boat. So, as it is admitted, there was a general order to "smash all records"—which was duly done.

This explains why the look-out men had glasses until they reached Queenstown, but not afterwards—record smashing on the Western voyage commences at Queenstown.

So at the bottom it is the greed for profit and the insatiable desire for speed on the part of the rich that is responsible for the disaster, whatever conclusion the Committee of Enquiry may come to.

Of the first-class men 34 per cent were saved; of the steerage men only 12 per cent. Figures like these are eloquent enough without the evidence of the officer who admitted that he kept steerage passengers from a half-filled boat with shots from his revolver. . . . Of first-class women and children practically all were saved, some even with their pet dogs. Of the steerage women and children more than half perished. The "chivalry" of the ruling class does not, save on very rare instances, extend itself to the class beneath them.

FROM THE

*Socialist Standard* MAY 1912.(The "*Titanic*" went down 50 years ago last month.)





## THE BBC TRAVESTIES MARX

OUR ATTENTION has been drawn to an imaginary interview with Karl Marx which appeared in BBC Television, in the "Return and Answer" series, on January 3rd. The interviewer was represented by Edgar Lustgarten and the ghost of Karl Marx by Sir Donald Wolfitt.

Who was responsible for the dialogue we don't know, but as it was No. 5 of "The Verdict of History," by Geoffrey Bridson, we assume, rightly or wrongly, that he was, whilst the others were just the actors in the interview.

This long interview is cheap and nasty: like a mangy cur snapping at Marx's heels. Marx is depicted as angry, sullen, evasive and making grudging admissions; all quite out of character. Some of the phrases he is saddled with in replies are simply absurd, as anyone familiar with his writings, and the vast amount of knowledge and experience behind them, would realise. The BBC appears to have swallowed uncritically the Bolshevik distortions of Marx.

The whole slant of the interview was to make Marx appear as an advocate of violence and terrorism and to pretend that Capitalism was not as bad as Marx had shown it to be, as he had been allowed to live in England unmolested for thirty years, and was even given the freedom of the British Museum to make the investigations that resulted in the production of his major work "Capital."

There is no criticism of his investigations of Capitalism; of its rottenness, its hypocrisy, its warmongering, its wastefulness of human life, its utter ruthlessness and its cynical exploitation of the workers for the benefit of a privileged class that lives like a leech on the backs of the workers. All this was brushed aside under the pretence of clever questioning.

Before the interview commenced there was an opening statement that gave the direction the interview would follow: "If he were alive today there are many parts of the world where Karl Marx would be liable to arrest for incitement to violence." This was obviously intended to weigh the scales against Marx before the interview commenced. However, this is just a fatuous statement. One could just as well say: "There are many parts of

the world today where Macmillan and Kennedy would be liable to arrest for incitement to violence!"

Phrases from Marx's writings are torn from their historical context in order to give some semblance of truth to the claim that he was in favour of violence. The Communist Manifesto of 1848 is drawn upon for this purpose as well as references to his address to the Communist League in 1850.

The Communist Manifesto contains an accurate examination of the conditions of the time and of their historical development. Its fundamental principles are as accurate today, and apply just as forcibly to present conditions, as when it was written. Nothing of this, however, comes out in the interview, though there are references to the Manifesto preaching violence in spite of the fact that the Manifesto stated that the first step in the revolution by the working class was "to win the battle of democracy." It further forecast that the enriching of the capitalists and the subjection of the workers as an exploited class in miserable conditions would lead to outbreaks of violence—violence on the part of capital and on the part of exasperated labour. This in fact happened during the following half century or so.

When the Manifesto was written Marx was filled with passion against the oppressive conditions suffered by the workers of his day. The only hope at the time of securing some amelioration of those conditions was by revolutionary uprisings against them, just as the traders and small manufacturers of the pre-capitalist era took part in revolutionary uprisings against feudal oppression.

During the greater part of Marx's activity the workers were poorly paid, lived in shocking conditions, worked long hours (women and children worked long hours in mines, factories and in agricultural gangs), educational opportunities were meagre, and they were denied political representation. Is it any wonder that Marx was stirred by these deplorable conditions and set about investigating the source of them and publishing the evidence of the rottenness of capitalism and the only solution for its evils. For this he was hounded from one coun-

try to another and held up as an enemy of society—and the BBC seeks to perpetuate this latter fable. When and where the workers had achieved a sufficient measure of representation Marx pointed out that it was possible to achieve the social revolution without violence. Speaking in Holland on one occasion he said that if he understood their constitution aright it would be possible to achieve the social revolution there peaceably.

He foretold that the clash of the sectional interests of capitalists would continue to breed wars, and he was right. In 1854-56 there was the Crimean trade war, followed by the second Chinese war; under the treaty the defeated Chinese were forced to accept the legal importation of opium. There followed the many wars in India, Africa and elsewhere, aimed at fostering the trade interests of different sections of international capital. At the end of the century the South African war which served the interests of the gold and diamond magnates. But we need not go so far back. Since Marx's day there have been two terrible world wars and a greater one than ever hovers on the horizon, all of them concerned with markets, trade routes and sources of raw material—the most recent being oil and uranium.

All of this was ignored by the interrogator who appeared to be trying to give the impression that Marx was an irresponsible supporter of terrorism whilst we were living in quite a decent kind of world.

Marx was opposed to terrorism. That was one of the reasons for his bitter struggle with Bakunin and the anarchists in the International Working Men's Association.

In the course of time political changes put the idea of revolutionary uprisings out of the picture. In their joint preface to the issue of the Communist Manifesto in 1872 Marx and Engels wrote the following:

However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as

the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today.

Engels, in the Introduction to "The Class Struggles in France" in 1895, has this to say:

The time of the surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for with body and soul. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long and persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair . . .

In the Latin countries, also, it is being more and more, recognised that the old tactics must be revised.

Everywhere . . . the German example of utilising the suffrage, of winning all posts accessible to us, has been imitated. . . . even in France the Socialists are realising

more and more that no lasting victory is possible for them, unless they first win the great mass of the people, i.e., in this case the peasants. Slow propaganda work and parliamentary activity are being recognised here, too, as the most immediate tasks of the Party . . .

The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the "revolutionaries", the "rebels"—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and revolts. The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves.

There is much more we could quote to show that for Marx and Engels, violence and terrorism was not the way to achieve Socialism.

As we pointed out at the beginning the way the interview was framed was a travesty of Marx's outlook. The BBC does not treat capitalist economists and historians in the same flippant and biased way. If they had intended to give a fair idea of Marx's social contribution they would have dealt with his theory of value, Materialist Conception of History, the class struggle, and his contention that the workers must understand Socialism before it can be achieved.

It is significant that though we have approached the BBC repeatedly to be allowed to put the Marxist case for

Socialism on TV or Radio, we have always been turned down. Yet the BBC sponsors this travesty of Marxism.

There were some references to the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This phrase was never used by Marx in any of the writings he had published. He mentioned it in two private letters. One of these was in a criticism of the Gotha Programme. He there referred to a time when a working class which understood what Socialism involved had obtained control of political power for the purpose of establishing Socialism. He did not mean dictatorship by a group at the top over a mass of people who had no knowledge of Socialism. The latter was what Lenin and the Bolsheviks tried to attribute to Marx.

We may conclude with our conviction that, were Marx alive today, with his clear and incisive appraisal of facts and social development, his views would be in accordance with ours—that the workers are now in a position in the politically advanced countries, where they comprise the vast majority of the voters, to conquer political power through the vote and then set about establishing Socialism without the violence depicted in the interview being involved.

GILMAC.

## Shoulder to the Wheel

1962, and they are still at it! Shoulder to the wheel, nose to the grindstone, tighten your belt, increase productivity but accept wage restraint, now is not the time to relax . . . and so it goes on *ad infinitum*.

Solemn editorials, T.V. and radio broadcasts, tell us about foreign competition and of the dire consequences if their warnings go unheeded. And of worse to come if British capitalism is forced into the Common Market. The same sources speak grandly of the "nation" and the "community" and the public.

Trade Unions are given unsought advice. If they take positive action in pursuit of a wage claim they are irresponsible, or worse, whereas to knuckle under to employer or government pressure is commended as being statesmanlike. A favourite term, that one.

In a society where the means of production are owned and controlled by a minority, and the majority have to work for wages, there can be no common interests. There is, therefore, no real community or nation, and the fact that the British employing class is faced with fierce competition from other employers elsewhere does not invalidate this. Nor

does alleged German or Italian trade success indicate a harmony of interests between their capitalists and workers. The working class of the world will gain nothing and solve nothing by paying any attention to the tales of woe of the powers that be.

At a very dubious "best" it could happen that British capitalism improved its share of the world's markets, with possibly unemployment for foreign workers to a greater degree than in this country. The foreign employers faced with being squeezed out would attempt to force down wages in their industry, and our own employers would counteract with similar measures.

Of course, the employers throughout the world invariably use the bogey of foreign competition in their attempts to counter claims for wage increases, shorter hours and improved conditions. The real bone of contention is that in a condition of intense trade rivalry the employers cannot automatically pass on wage increase in the form of price increases, but approach the point where they must cut into profits.

Increased productivity or the squeezing out of rivals does not necessarily mean

that workers will improve their standard of living or have secure jobs. Often the reverse is true. An example is the position in the American motor car industry after British and other European car imports had been drastically reduced by the production of American "compact" cars. Now, in spite of this cut in imports, the American industry is running at well under capacity, with thousands unemployed and speed-ups for those in work. The advent of the American compacts gave rise to unemployment and short time in the British motor industry and also on the Continent—at Renault in France and Borgward in West Germany for instance.

In shipbuilding, although British yards have lost orders on price and delivery to foreign competitors, the industry as a whole is faced with the problem of increased air travel. The recent completion of the French liner "France" was admitted to be a calculated gamble.

Textiles suffered a severe recession in the early fifties, and on several occasions since then, the crises hitting Japan and the United States as well as Lancashire. Not so long ago the coal-mining industry was hailed as the industry of the



future—with employment assured. The National Coal Board advertised extensively in the Press, and the miners accepted Saturday shift working. Now, dozens of pits are closing down owing to over production, uneconomic working or competition from oil. And the same problem is felt in Belgium and America with thousands of Belgian and American miners out of work.

The point is that production in capitalist society is always a gamble. The markets are unpredictable and many firms tend to over capitalise in a boom period, determined as they are to steal a march on their rivals or at least not to be left behind. Even when a national group of capitalists does corner a market, there is no guarantee that the market will absorb the products indefinitely. Credit buying, planned obsolescence, as well as universal re-armament, have been important factors in warding off a large scale slump, which in themselves are a striking indictment of present day society.

Capitalism presents the working class with the prospect of cut-throat competition in so-called "peace" time and wholesale slaughter when the ruling class rivalries are settled by force.

The economic conflicts of the international capitalist class have produced two world wars this century, the preparation for a third, and countless minor conflicts where the two major power blocs have jockeyed for position. Again, the troubles between the declining European imperialists such as Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal and aspiring native ruling class groups have produced endless bloodshed.

Given the continuation of capitalist society, international rivalry and tension and the glaring paradoxes of unsaleable wealth and worldwide want will confront mankind.

Can any thinking worker seriously challenge our contention that a complete and fundamental change is not only desirable and necessary, but the *real* challenge of this age?

Socialism, based upon common ownership of the means of production, would engender co-operation. The massive technology collectively at man's disposal and under his control would not be used to produce commodities for a precarious market, but would be utilised to satisfy people's needs—on the basis of free access—"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

F. S.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Bill Sikes

A new storm is blowing up over the amount of violence on television. As the night's ration of gunfire roars from the lantern in the corner, or bursts through the thin partition wall from the next house, many parents are sincerely worried about its effect on their children. There was much criticism of a recent BBC programme aimed at children which showed the scene from *Oliver Twist* in which Bill Sikes bludgeoned Nancy to death; and the accidental hanging of Bill Sikes was cut from the following week's instalment.

It would, of course, be difficult to maintain that the regular diet of shootings, stabbings, stranglings, and knock-out blows which is fed to children (and adults) by the television programmes does them any good. But it would be a waste of time to try to trace current "juvenile delinquency" and "violent crime" merely to the television. The whole of our society presents a picture of violence to the impressionable mind. No ruling class could exist without frequent recourse to violence of the crudest kind. While the main prop of the power of the ruling class is constant and insidious propaganda through every medium of communication—press, radio, pulpit, and so on—violence must be used to punish and deter the small minority who refuse to accept the prevailing notions of private property or otherwise break the law. The television high-ups may censor the hanging of Bill Sikes; but they cannot censor the official and judicial hanging of James Hanratty. And there is no point in banning Westerns when every ruling class in the world, including our own, is prepared in order to achieve its aims to kill more people than all the black-shirted badmen who ever trod the studio boards.

### Commodity

Education in any society prepares people to be members of that society. Education in capitalist society prepares people to be members of capitalist society. And in return for a steady supply of workers both at the factory bench and in the white-collar ranks, capitalists are prepared to pay (and have to pay) handsomely. Education to a capitalist is

merely a commodity to be bought for a price like any other commodity. If you will not accept this from a Socialist, you may be more ready to accept it from a capitalist. This item appeared in *The Times* of March 2nd:

The University of Witwatersrand became 40 years old today and received a birthday present of £750,000 from the Chamber of Mines. The money would be spread over five years. Mr. H. C. Koch, president of the Chamber, said he hoped other industries would come to realise that money given to universities was not a donation but was a payment for an essential commodity.

Even a Socialist could not put it more clearly.

### Demoralization

Anyone who thinks that only white people can sink to the level of racialism would be well advised to consider recent speeches made in Rhodesia. The publicity secretary of the United National Independence Party said that when UNIP achieved power in Northern Rhodesia it would declare Sir Roy Welensky a prohibited immigrant in the territory: this, he said, would be "the first step in UNIP's programme of demoralization of the white man" (*The Times*, 10/4/62). The European, he said, was afraid of the African today, because he knew the African was no longer joking. At the same meeting the publicity secretary of the Southern Rhodesian Zimbabwe African People's Union said that "anyone who lived in Africa must identify himself with the African people. ZAPU would not accept European standards. In Africa no standards would be accepted that were not completely pan-African."

The aspiring Rhodesian African ruling class, having seen how valuable racialism has been to the European rulers of the country, are now trying to drum up support for themselves the same way. The more they can emphasise the irrelevant distinctions between members of the human race, such as colour of skin, the less inclined the African people will be to think about—and get rid of—the really important division in the human race, that between class and class.

ALWYN EDGAR.



## What Makes a Thug?

THEY ARE still worrying over the young, violent criminal. It is easy to sneer at them, in their conferences bending anxious eyes over statistics. But a young thug is, apart from anything else, a socially ugly person so perhaps it is as well that there is somebody to worry over him and to try to find out why he moves around in his own little nightmare of violence. But the worriers—and this is no sneer—never come up with the answer. They hammer away at parents, at schools, newspapers, television. They experiment in methods of treatment and punishment. Yet after this the young thug is still with us, coshing and slashing, and sometimes killing.

Last month, we remember, there was something of an uproar about the television portrayal of Bill Sikes murdering Nancy in the serialised *Oliver Twist*. Even the Postmaster General criticised the episode in the strongest language. There is some evidence that young people like to try and imitate death scenes which they have seen on T.V. Many adults were uneasy that some youngsters might try to do a Bill Sikes on their girl friends. Perhaps this was being rather unfair to the poor old BBC. At least, the Bill Sikes episode showed passionate murder as it is a messy and obscene business, with human beings behaving like dull beasts. That might put potential thugs off. But it is a different matter with the westerns and some of the crime serials. These make violence seem so much sweeter, less damaging, less violent, in fact. At least, when Bill Sikes throttled Nancy she went out spluttering and struggling. The cowboy or detective hero, on the other hand, can take a thunderbolt on his head, shake himself, blink and smile and recover in time for the next episode.

If this teaches anything, it is that violence is sent to test our manliness. Any influence which television might have upon the criminal figure should surely be credited (if that is the word) to the cops and robbers type of programme.

Yet even when we have said that, we are still a long way from the bottom of the matter. Some months ago a reader of *The Guardian* wrote to that newspaper criticising the BBC's choice of plays as laying too great an emphasis upon sex, gangsterism and crimes of violence. This letter brought forth a sharp reply from a Reverend Jones, who wrote from The Vicarage at Appleby. There was,

said Mr. Jones, another sort of programme in which these things were given prominence: "I refer to the general news." The reverend thought that the broadcasting companies should do their best to play down these aspects or to broadcast them only when adults were likely to be tuned in.

The interesting thing about this letter is that its writer realised that the real world is in parts just as violent and intimidating as any script writer's nightmare scenario. It is not surprising that Mr. Jones missed the point that in real world capitalism violence is unavoidable. To say the least of it, anyone who sets out to teach a child that violence is socially useless has an uphill battle ahead. There is a constant pressure upon all of us to believe that the violence used by capitalism's heroes is glorious and commendable. A battle of Britain fighter pilot can be as violent as he likes. So can a Lovat Commando or a detective roping in a bunch of bank robbers.

Capitalism, in fact, is a violent society, in which war is as much a part of our life as milk is of cheese. And what does war mean? Admiral Jackie Fisher, who is better known as an austere, belligerent sailor, once spoke his mind on the matter. "It's perfect rot," he said, "to talk about Civilised Warfare. You might as well talk about Heavenly Hell!" (Fisher also said, at another time, "... we can only have community of interests in the masses of people always being on the side of peace, because it is the masses who are massacred, not the kings and generals and politicians," which was a strange comment from a man whose job was to send some of the masses to be massacred).

We all grow up now under a cloud of socially organised violence. Our newspapers scream black headlines about fall out and missiles and anti-missiles and anti-anti-missiles. Nobody can feel secure when the world itself staggers from one crisis to another, always with the horrible feeling that the next might be the one to push the fingers down upon the buttons marked FIRE. This is a potent cause for despair and cynicism. Here is one of the roots of criminal violence. Do the worriers, then, speak out on this at their conferences? They are stuck with capitalism, and their hopeless efforts to reform it. They do not, therefore, speak out.

We should not forget that the ground

in which capitalism's criminals take root is always well tilled and fertile. Why do people turn to crime? Most of us get our living by going out to work for a wage, which is often a precarious business. Even in boom time we need never be far off a recession which means short time or redundancy. Going out to work can be a boring business. Men can stand all day on the same spot, going through the same simple action time and again. Or they may sit at a desk shuffling the same dull paperwork, with their only prospect of excitement the chance of finding a miscast invoice. Young girls type endless letters and forms or fill up endless boxes of sweets. Yes, going to work for a living is often a precarious, boring, unpleasant business.

Small wonder that so many dream of the big pools win to take them away from it all. And no wonder either that a few decide that the chances against climbing out of the rut by keeping within capitalism's laws are stacked high enough to justify them trying some other way. Such people are criminal material. Indeed, some criminals have coldly worked it out that they would spend a large part of their life in gaol, rather than give it all up to the nine to five-thirty routine with only a shiny trouser seat to show for it. The criminal, like any law abiding worker, dreams of the easy touch, the job that clicks. Usually it doesn't come off; that is why so many of them lose their gamble and end up as shambling old lags.

Property rights stand between the criminal and his objective. To get what he wants he is prepared not only to break capitalism's laws. To clinch a job he will beat up a watchman or cosh a messenger or even kill a cashier. Then if they catch him there is the macabre process of trial and sentence and execution. There is no lack of newspapers, fighting for sales, to give us all the juicy details. And what effect is this supposed to have upon potentially violent criminals? Victor Terry shot down the bank guard at Worthing on the very day that a friend of his was executed for murder. A member of the last Royal Commission on Capital Punishment put it on record that he was finally convinced of the need to abolish hanging when he read the letters, which regularly arrive at the Home Office, applying for the job of public hangman.

(Continued bottom page 76.)

**DEBATE** Monday 14th May 7.30 pm Conway Hall

DETAILS  
SEE  
PAGE 77



## ECONOMIC NOTES

## THE BUDGET



Unintentionally, no doubt, the *Daily Mail* on the morning of Budget day told the truth about the Budget and about all the long line of Liberal, Tory, Labour budgets of the past and those yet to come. It read: "It looks like a 'keep hoping' Budget. It will be a hopeful Budget today—hopeful of better times..."

It is always the same programme in Budget week. The newspapers work up their readers' interest in the undisclosed secrets—just like the Oxford and Cambridge boat race which takes place at about the same time, and is, from a working class point of view, about as important. Then the taxes "on," and taxes "off," are announced, along with the usual platitudes about the "national economy" and the never-omitted appeals from the spokesmen of the rich that the poor should work harder.

Not that the Budget is unimportant, far from it, but its importance is to the exploiters not the exploited. The working class are exploited where they work, in a process so familiar that its significance is missed, the process of producing wealth to be owned by someone else, their employers. What the working class receive is not the value of what they

(continued from page 75.)

We can see that the matter of violence in society is more complex than simply trying to assess the effects upon a young child of watching Bill Sikes do Nancy in. Like so many of the other unpleasant aspects of capitalist society, it is all something of a shambles. But it is a shambles which can be sorted out. The first need is to have a world so organised that human welfare is at the top of the list of social priorities instead of being, as it is now, somewhere near the bottom. A world like that would get rid of most violence by simply not having wars and poverty and criminal farms like the slums of the big cities.

When we have done that we can get down to finding out why some (if any) people may be violent. We can look at it for what it is—or should be—a human problem. That will be better than beating or hanging or punishing. It will be better than fussing the kids away from the television set. It will even be better than worrying over statistics in muddled if well meaning, conferences.

IVAN.

produce but a much smaller amount representing roughly what it costs them to live. The difference or surplus stays with the propertied class, but out of it has to come the very large cost of running the capitalist State, the taxes and rates.

The battle of the Budget each year is the struggle of sections of the propertied class, as far as possible, to get the tax burden off their own shoulders on to those of some other section.

Most workers fail to see this and wait hopefully for a Budget which will do some lasting good to them as a class. It is a vain hope. If Budgets or other government measures put up prices, workers have to fight to see that their "take-home pay" goes up too; but if prices come down the fight goes on just the same, against the employers' moves to reduce wages.

## Cotton's Future.

A few years ago when the cotton industry was in serious difficulties the government stepped in with financial aid to modernise and concentrate the industry. Firms were helped to scrap old plant and install new and it was supposed to have put Lancashire cotton in good shape again. But not for long. Colonel J. B. Whitehead, managing director of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, speaking at Manchester on April 3rd, had this to say:

The Lancashire cotton and man-made fibre spinning and doubling industries would be faced with "virtual extinction" over the next few years if the Government in power did not take decisive action and make it known that it was doing so. (*Guardian* 4.4.62.)

About 230 workers will lose their jobs when the Calico Printers Association print works at Whaley Bridge (Derbyshire) closes down in May, and another 90 have been given notice with the closing down of a weaving mill at Blackburn.

Mr. John Casson, local secretary of the Weavers' Association, is reported by the *Daily Worker* (7/4/62) as saying that about two-thirds of the workers in the cotton industry in Blackburn are on short time. He continued:

The future of the cotton industry in the town, once the biggest cotton weaving

centre in the world, is precarious. There seems little prospect of any improvement in the position in the foreseeable future.

There must be cotton workers who turn from the gloomy future and recall what Mr. Herbert Morrison (now Lord Morrison) said in Manchester years ago when, as a Minister in the Labour Government, he was calling on the workers to turn out as much cotton as they could and not be afraid about the future:

Mr. Morrison described as a ghost from the past Lancashire's fear that slump must follow boom, the fear that the cotton people might "work themselves out of a job". (*Sunday Dispatch*, 18.4.48.)

Even if the rest of the world was only half as hungry for Lancashire cotton goods as it is today you'd still be perfectly safe as an industry to go all out.

Now half the industry is gone, incidentally, along with the newspaper in which the speech was reported. But Lord Morrison has come through unscathed.

## White Collar Workers' Jobs.

Traditionally, office workers employed by the big firms have counted on a large measure of security. Things are looking black for them just now. Rolls-Royce, announcing the coming dismissal of 3,000 workers, include among them clerical and technical staffs.

The railways, parallel with the closing down of branch lines, are reported (*Observer*, 8/4/62) to be overhauling their 70,000 white collar jobs to see where economies can be achieved. Recruiting will be slowed down and staffs no longer needed offered transfers to other regions.

And the *City Press* (9/3/62) had this to say about staff cuts made by Shell & Royal Dutch:

This week's report that the Royal Dutch Shell profit increase of £9,500,000 has been achieved largely by staff cuts of 20 per cent over the past two years is a real shaker... in the case of Shell even the lunch hour has been cut and the executives now have to fly about the world tourist instead of first class.

A company official is quoted as saying that in the central offices in London and the Hague staff came down from 10,000 in 1959 to 8,000. And he told a meeting of the staff: "I am afraid that never again will there be any justification for the feeling that nobody is going to be fired from Shell."

The *City Press* calls this "a healthy sign" and anticipates that more big companies can be expected to follow suit.

II.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## Christianity

Dear Sir,

As a practising Christian who is also a confirmed Semi-Marxian Social Democrat, I was very interested to read H.B.'s article "Religion-God Speaks for Capitalism" in last month's *Socialist Standard*. One of the article's solemnest statements mentions that "Christians have even stooped to putting a mock debate on television, with one Christian posing as Marx in order to make it easier for his colleague to knock his argument down." From what I saw of the debate I believe the writer refers to, the "Christian posing as Marx" certainly gave as good as he got, and at one point came close to breaking through the somewhat artificial religious "barrier" of his opponent.

Concerning the statement that "Modern science has made God... intangible and unintelligible," one has only to consider the fact that there are no fewer practising Christians among eminent scientists than other walks of life to question this postulate. As the great Christian physicist Lord Rayleigh, (discoverer of the rare gases helium, argon, radon etc. in air), once said, "True science and true religion neither are nor could be opposed."

"To talk of loving thy neighbour... and defend mass murder" is certainly humbug. But in my own experience I have found few true Christians, recognising sociology as they must for more than another piece of verbal lumber, who really justify for instance the dropping of the H Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki through the unctuous hypothesis that it saved more (Allied) lives than it destroyed. I myself cannot see how these tragedies can be logically justified (if the Bombs were even alternatively dropped in comparatively underpopulated parts of Japan, the war mania of Tokyo must surely have been shocked to their senses).

I have known Christian comrades refer to the droppings as "the greatest of the war crimes". This is probably exaggerated when one considers the Nazi record, but it certainly shows that "the Christian conscience is not as one sided and Nationalist as sometimes made out. Some clerics may, by opposing the CND illogically sanction "the ultimate weapon"—(although it must be remembered that CND is no more the "sole custodian of moral principles and eternal truth" than Christianity!)—but to say that the God of the Christians "sanctions wage slavery" is an unjust over-simplification. After all, it is the Christian Socialists and Anglican Worker Priests that give the lie to this statement. The latter especially are doing excellent work in many North Country factories, sharing the lot of the shop floor worker, striving loyally for the Union he belongs to, and giving him down-to-earth advice on his day to day problems free of the more unctuous sermonising of their brother priests. Some of these, ad-

To the Editor



mitedly—possibly through no fault of their own—are out of touch with the proletariat.

In conclusion, I am bound as a Socialist to agree that "the production of things for use with a full and satisfying life for everybody" is an essential aim for "mature mankind". Dare I, however, repeat that great saying of Christ which can never become just another stale political cliché—"Man does not live by bread alone".

Chippenham, Wilts. R. BURNETT PIERCE

## REPLY

We have come across many strange self-descriptions in our time but none of them have been stranger than Mr. Pierce's. We cannot understand how anybody can claim to be even a "semi" Marxist when he opposes the materialist conceptions which are at the heart of Karl Marx's work.

The article *God Speaks for Capitalism* did not offer any opinions upon who came off best in the television "debate" on christianity. It did point out how ludicrous it is for the Christians to impersonate their own opponents and it commented, "We would prefer to see a real debate on Marxism, but they will, of course, prefer

their cut-and-dried questions, asked and answered by themselves."

It is true that many scientists are religious; man is capable of amazing and intricate mental acrobatics. This does not alter the fact that science—that is, factual knowledge and its systematic application—has made religion "intangible and unintelligible". The God-fearing scientist is a believer only outside his laboratory. He does not expect to solve his scientific problems with prayer. He does not experiment in supernatural religion but in material fact and upon that he bases his work and his conclusions.

Our correspondent protests that few "true" christians justify the use of nuclear weapons. But who are the "true" christians? Those who support nuclear armament say that they are as sincere in their religion as anybody else and it is not for Socialists to doubt their word.

The point is that religion, if only for its basic belief that our existence on earth is a preparation for a glorious, if unprovable, life-after-death, must divert the attention of the working class from the real issue of their lives—whether a minority is to continue to own the world's wealth or whether it is to be the property of the whole of mankind. This is only one reason for our saying that religion upholds capitalism.

Most religious sects support the wars which capitalism throws up. In these wars, religious principles are forgotten. Catholics fight against catholics, protestants against protestants, moslems against moslems and so on. Only one principle, in fact, is left to them and that is their support for property society.

Thus there is every reason for a christian to condone the use of nuclear weapons. If he supports capitalism's wars, why should he not also want his side to fight with the most powerful weapons at their disposal? Indeed, the illogical ones are not the clerics who oppose CND but those who only wish they could call a halt to capitalism when it has produced what they think is the ultimate weapon, or something else that is frightful.

The worker priests and the so-called christian socialists cannot escape the charge of sanctioning wage-slavery. After all, many workers are keen and militant trade unionists without also being opposed to capitalism. In this they are only trying to get the highest wages they can and commendable as this is it can do nothing to disturb the basis of capitalist society. It would be a different matter if the worker priests advised their workmates to become socialists and to work for the end of the wages system. But that is impossible because it would mean that they would also advise them to become hostile to religious ideas. We should not forget that the worker priests are in the factory not only to try to ease the workers' burdens; they are there to also encourage people to be more faithful christians.

We agree with Mr. Pierce that man needs to satisfy more than his immediate physical requirements if he is to live his life to the full, which is what a socialist wants.

## DEBATE

Monday 14th May  
7.30 pm

NATIONAL  
FELLOWSHIP  
OR  
SOCIALISM

For National Fellowship  
Mr. Edward Martell

For SPGB J. D'Arcy

CONWAY HALL  
RED LION SQUARE, WC1



But there is no hope of indulging our other tastes and fancies unless we first of all have a secure existence. Starving refugees are in no shape to appreciate great literature and doubtless would rather have full stomachs than lend an ear to the finest music. We do not need to expand this argument very much to realise that Socialism, by securing a full and secure material existence for mankind, will give us a world in which we can also enjoy our cultural achievements to the utmost.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## Disarmament

Sir,

I was handed a copy of your leaflet concerning nuclear disarmament in Trafalgar Square and while I agree with much of your pamphlet, may I suggest that yours are the views with a limited horizon.

You refer to a "scrap of paper". Obviously a scrap of paper could never succeed in eliminating the prospects of war and for this reason it is not a scrap of paper that we aim at.

The only possible solution is a form of world control which would emphatically mean the beginnings of a world government. Such a world government would inevitably be internationally socialist, since the idea of international capitalism is self-contradictory, although admittedly national interests may, for a while preserve the bones of capitalism—but if the head of the body (the world government) were socialist it would remain irrational for the limbs to be capitalist—this giving rise to a truly international socialist community—and also a stable one.

On the issue of disarmament we have the opportunity to lay foundations for a world government—now. From then on it would be a question of time before true socialism arrived.

Now your object and a noble one is socialism in this country but can socialism on a national scale survive in competition with international anarchy? No. The limbs don't survive without the head.

Russian communism turned into state capitalism because it was the only way it could survive. Socialism in Britain would go the same way, unless you have first a world government.

Thus the germ of true socialism lies in world government as does the only possible hope for the furtherance of humanity.

No it is not for us to broaden our outlook to national socialism—you must broaden your outlook to international socialism.

May I suggest that you therefore give your support to the CND not for the immediate end of national socialism but for the ultimate end.

Although my views may not be shared by others—who sit—and indeed these views were not my reason for joining the campaign, they are the logical conclusions.

Certainly we gain but little in proportion to the inconvenience of time in prison,

but given sufficient support we can win, we can change the nation's policy and light the past to international sanity.

And—we must.

If you find a flaw in my argument I would be glad for you to point it out.

Stamford Hill, N.16. NEIL COGSWELL.

### REPLY

One point we must clear up straight away. The Socialist Party of Great Britain does not think that Socialism can exist in one country. We aim at an international system of society based upon the common ownership of the world's means of wealth production and distribution. If that cannot be established all over the world then it cannot be established at all.

The object of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—which has nothing to do with world government or with Socialism—can only be attained by all governments agreeing to destroy their nuclear weapons and promising not to make any more. But, as the leaflet which Mr. Cogswell refers to points out, "... if war comes or is thought to be imminent any such agreement would be scrapped and bombs—or something even worse—would again be made." The agreements which capitalism's governments make can never be worth very much, because they will not hesitate to break their word if their interests as capitalist powers require it. That is why they have broken the 1958 agreement to stop testing bombs. That is why they would also break a pact to stop making bombs.

Mr. Cogswell thinks that world control of armaments would lead to world government which would lead to Socialism. The unproductive negotiations at Geneva have shown us how unlikely it is that the capitalist powers will ever be able to resolve their opposing interests over armaments. When we think of the struggle which capitalism has to keep its international organisations like UNO going and when we remember that, say, the nations of Europe cannot even agree upon a uniform customs tariff, we know that world government is practically impossible. And even were it possible, there is no reason to believe with Mr. Cogswell that it would be what he calls "internationally socialist". It would administer the affairs of world capitalism just as the governments of today administer the affairs of their national capitalisms.

The only way to solve the innumerable problems and anomalies of capitalism is for the world working class to gain the necessary knowledge to establish Socialism. This will not be one immense government ruling the world. It will be a social organisation in which men will freely co-operate for the common good.

We must not omit to point out that the state capitalism which exists in Russia today has not developed from the failure there of Communism (or Socialism, whichever name we care to use). Conditions in Russia in 1917 were such that only capitalism could have taken root there. It has never surprised Socialists that that is what has happened.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## Branch News



The programme of lectures and films arranged by Ealing continues. After Flaherty's film last month they have a lecture by Comrade Edge on 11th May and a double film bill on 18th May (see notices elsewhere in this issue). They hope to start the outdoor season at Earls Court as soon as possible this year and arrangements are in hand to hold the first meeting on Thursday 17th May. All members are asked to give the meetings their keenest support. They had some very successful evenings last year and literature sales were at times outstandingly good. There is obviously still plenty of scope for useful propaganda at some outdoor stations given good weather and enthusiastic support by members.

This May issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD speaks for itself as regards Party activity. May Day meetings and Rallies, Municipal Election on Glasgow and other propaganda activities all of which are advertised on page 79. In addition the summer outdoor propaganda drive is commencing and boldly, the Socialist Party of Great Britain goes forward with its propagation of the Socialist case with enthusiasm and optimism. So readers, if you haven't yet joined in—do so now and at the very least, double or triple your order for copies of the STANDARD and pass them on.

The so-called "Socialist Society" University College Swansea has invited us to send a speaker during May to state the Socialist Party case to the students. Indeed at long last we seem to be breaking through to the student population in Wales. No one can say what this may lead to, but of course we are optimistic. The local Liberal Association is waiting to nominate the candidate for Swansea West before finalising the arrangements to debate the SPGB. This will infuriate the local Labour. Conservative, and (so-called) Communist parties who have tried to ignore us wherever possible.

The branch is holding interesting discussions and lectures at the usual meeting place and now have a regular number of interested and interesting people attending the meetings. Here again the Branch members are optimistic, and feel that some at least will join the ranks of the Party. Especially the use of taped recorded lectures will be useful. Already the tape of the talk to the students of St. David's College, Lampeter has proved especially useful.

Please study the list of activities advertised particularly in your locality and give all Party meetings the fullest support possible. Let activity bring success to the Socialist cause.

Towards the end of last year one of our friends returned to his home in Jamaica, and he has wasted no time getting busy propagating Socialist ideas. Shortly after his arrival he was invited to take part in a public meeting on the subject of Independence (for Jamaica), when he explained that, as far as the working class is concerned, independence would merely mean a change of rulers and exploiters and would not change their lives in any other way. He is pleased to tell us that his audience was "surprisingly attentive"; and this is a very good start indeed in a place where our case has not been heard before. He is now looking for a suitable place to start a discussion group, when he hopes also to be able to sell the Socialist Standard. This is especially important as, due to the prohibition by the Jamaican Government of the sale of many "left wing" and "Communist" publications, we have met with no success in our endeavours to get newagents in Jamaica to take the Socialist Standard.

P.H.

## APOLOGIES

We must apologise to our readers for a number of serious errors which appeared in the April issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

### MAY DAY RALLY

On page 50, Conway Hall was wrongly shown as the venue for the meeting on May 1st: it should have read CAXTON HALL.

### GLASGOW ELECTION ADDRESS

On pages 56-57 three sub-titles were unfortunately transposed:

"We make no promises" should have been "What is Capitalism";

"What is Capitalism" should of course have read "What is Socialism";

and finally "What is Socialism" should have read "We make no promises".

### CORRECTION

On page 58 of last month's issue in the third column under the sub-title "where there's smoke" the last line at the bottom of the page was unfortunately "lost" in the make-up. The sentence should have read: "such a merger would make the new company the third largest motor car manufacturer in the world behind General Motors and Ford."

SOCIALIST STANDARD PRODUCTION COMMITTEE

## Meetings

### MAYDAY RALLIES

Tuesday, 1st May, 7.30 pm  
Caxton Hall, Westminster, SW1.  
Speakers: A. Fahy, J. D'Arcy.

Friday, 4th May, 7.30 pm  
Swansea Rally.  
(for full details watch S. Wales press or contact Swansea Branch).

Sunday, 6th May.

### LONDON

Hyde Park Rally, 3 pm  
Speakers: R. Ambridge, H. Baldwin, R. Critchfield, E. Grant, H. Young.

### GLASGOW

Queens Park Rally, 3 pm

Indoor Meeting, 7.30 pm  
Cosmo Cinema.  
Speaker: A. Fahy (London).

### BRISTOL

Durdham Downs Rally, 3 pm

### NOTTINGHAM

Outdoor Rally, The Square, 3 pm

### DEBATE

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1.  
Monday, May 14th, 7.30 pm

### NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OR SOCIALISM?

For National Fellowship  
Mr. Edward Martell.  
For SPGB  
J. D'Arcy.

### GLASGOW DEBATE

Sunday, 13th May, 7 pm  
Woodside Halls, Glenfarg Street.

### WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT—SPGB OR LABOUR PARTY

For SPGB: Dick Donnelly.  
For Labour Party: Member of Woodside Young Socialists.

### GLASGOW MEETING

Sunday, 3rd June, 7.30 pm  
St. Andrews Halls (Mid Hall, Door G)

### THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIALISM

Speakers: T. Mulheron, D. Donnelly.

### MITCHAM LECTURE

"White Hart", Mitcham Cricket Green  
Thursday, 17th May, 8 pm

### WHY PEOPLE STARVE

Speaker: T. Lord.

### WEMBLEY LECTURES

Barham Old Court, Barham [near Sudbury Town Station], Wembley.  
Mondays, 8 pm

May 14th.

### MUSIC

Speaker: J. Jones.

May 28th.

### SMOKING AND CAPITALISM

Speaker: H. Young.

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesdays, 9 pm

May 2nd.

### THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

Speaker: L. Dale.

May 16th.

### RECENT SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Speaker: H. Young.

May 23rd.

### MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Speaker: J. D'Arcy.

May 30th.

### FILM SHOW

### EALING MEETINGS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road [3 minutes from Ealing Broadway Station].  
Fridays, 8 pm

May 11th.

### MATTHIAS ALEXANDER

Speaker: E. Edge.

May 18th.

Films: "Les Chances de l'existence" and "Lascoux—Cradle of Man's Art"  
Speaker: E. Warnecke.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth.

May 6th & 20th [noon].

May 13th & 27th 11 am  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8.30 pm  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

West Regent Street, 7.30 pm



# GLASGOW | NEW SLUMS FOR OLD

IN GLASGOW recently, the press gave a great deal of publicity to the collapse of a tenement in the Gorbals. Photographs of this victim of old age and disrepair were spectacular, showing one side of the building minus a wall and exposing a rabbit warren interior where the tenants lived, ate and slept. To the newspapers it was a one-day sensation. To the Socialist it was something much more.

Glasgow Corporation's publication *Industry on the Move* (January, 1959), has this to say about the nightmare living conditions of workers in the city:

There are over 80,000 people living at more than three persons to a room.

And dealing with certain parts of Glasgow:

## DEBATE

Sunday 13th May  
7 pm

**SPGB versus  
LABOUR PARTY**

For SPGB Dick Donnelly

For Labour Party  
A member of Woodside  
Young Socialists

**WOODSIDE HALLS**  
GLENFARG ST., GLASGOW

These central districts house more than half a million people. In these areas most of the people have to share toilet facilities — only one house in five has an internal water closet — and few of the houses have a bath.

The promise of better housing for the working class was, of course, in the programmes of all the reformist parties in the recent municipal election. Indeed, the last Labour-controlled council had the audacity to boast of their record and point to the new housing schemes on the city outskirts and their "overspill" programme, as solutions to the workers' plight.

"Overspill" is a scheme to get Glasgow workers housed in another town. It is proving far from popular, even among the desperate, as it sometimes involves moving great distances, and suitable jobs are not always available in the new areas.

A sorry commentary on the housing schemes in the outskirts can be found almost daily in the Glasgow newspapers, in the form of warrant sales. These are sales of household effects of workers hopelessly in debt. Many of them are in the homes of workers who live on the new housing estates and it is not hard to understand why. Although these houses are superior to the slums (it would be difficult for them to be inferior), the rent is almost invariably higher. This, coupled with the increased expense of travelling to and from work, lands many workers in the position of seeing their few sticks of furniture compulsorily sold. In a single day recently in Drumchapel, there were five warrant sales in one street.

To those who have lived in a single room, the change to a three or four roomed dwelling with interior water closet and bath must seem like Utopia. But when you consider that such places were built mainly of the cheapest possible materials, it does not take much imagination to recognise them as the slums of the not-too-distant future. Already, peeling plaster, shrunken doors and badly made window frames bear silent witness to the shoddiness of production for profit.

And the grim irony of it all is that a

physical shortage of houses does not exist in Glasgow. Like so many problems confronting Glaswegians and their brothers elsewhere, it is really one of poverty — the sheer inability to afford a decent place to live in. How then can this problem be solved within the present social set-up? The answer is a simple one. It cannot.

But this is not something which our Tory, Labour and other opponents are telling workers during the current local elections. They can be safely trusted to carry on flying in the face of fact and promising to remedy this evil which is as old as Capitalism itself. It is left to the Socialist candidate contesting North Kelvin Ward to point out the unpalatable truth and give the only answer. Socialism.

GLASWEGIAN.

## GLASGOW

## MAY DAY RALLY

Sunday May 6th  
7.30 pm

Speaker A. Fahy (London)

**COSMO CINEMA**

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street London, S.W.4. Printed by R. R. Taylor & Co Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1



# **SOCIALIST STANDARD**

Official Journal of  
the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain

JUNE 1962/6d



Gorbals, Glasgow 1962

**IN 1872 FREDERICK ENGELS WROTE  
ON THE HOUSING QUESTION:**

The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. *This* shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of *this* housing shortage there is only *one* means; to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class.

## **IF WORDS COULD BUILD HOUSES**

page 83

**Russia puts the clock back**

86

**The West Indies in the Doldrums**

90



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty, may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (7th & 21st June) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 1st June at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 8EX 1950) and 15th June at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (11th June) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** 1st Wednesday in month. For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (4th and 18th June) 7.30 pm, The Luncheon Room, Craven Arms (ground floor), High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 60 Alma Street, Coventry.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address. Wednesday 6th June 8 pm (on CND).

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (20th June) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd Monday in month (11th June) 8 pm, Railway Hotel, Pitses, 4th Monday (25th June, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (4th and 18th June) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th and 28th June) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road School, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Sawday Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th and 22nd June) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Thursday 21st June 8 pm, "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

First published by the SPGB in 1905

New Reprint of

# ART, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

by WILLIAM MORRIS

with a 1962 reassessment  
by the Socialist Party

ORDER NOW FROM SPGB PRICE 1/- (POST 3d EXTRA)

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW	84
Take-overs and Big Money	
Terrorism in Algeria	
Homeless in London	
FALLACIES ON THE LEFT	85
RUSSIA PUTS THE CLOCK BACK	86
WHO IS IN CHARGE	87
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY	89
The Stock Exchange	
How few own how much	
And in the USA	
Omission	
ISLANDS IN THE DOLDRUMS	90
THE PASSING SHOW	92
BOOKS	93
Frank Buchman's Secret	
African Atlas	
INDUSTRIAL UNREST	94
CORRESPONDENCE	94
BRANCH NEWS	96
MEETINGS	96

# IF WORDS COULD BUILD HOUSES

EDITORIAL

LAST MONTH saw yet another debate in Parliament on the housing problem—the fourth in three months. If words could build houses we would now all be living in splendour.

Labourites, Tories, Liberals—all went over the same well-worked ground. There were the usual graphic descriptions of the state of housing at the present time; the usual statistics about the number of slums and of people on waiting lists; the usual recriminations between the Labourites and Tories over what they had and had not done; the usual high-sounding promises of what was intended for the future.

In ten, twenty, fifty years time—as long as capitalism lasts—they will be telling the same tale and making the same promises, just as they have been doing for the past hundred years and more.

"There are about five million houses in the country at present which are over sixty years old," said one Labour M.P. "There are the same number without a bath," said another, telling us as well that I.T.V.'s Coronation Street was named, not after George V's coronation, but Queen Victoria's way back in 1837, and that in Salford they had just got round to pulling down Waterloo Place, built in 1815 to commemorate Wellington's victory over Napoleon.

In the realm of statistics, we were told that in Oldham one house in four was unfit to live in; that in Liverpool there are 88,000 houses beyond any prospect of repair; that in Birmingham 50,000 families are on the waiting list for houses for which the average waiting time is eight years; that in the country as a whole there are more than a million houses reckoned to be unfit for habitation and that this may well be an under-estimate. Figures galore for those who like them.

Then the recriminations. The Labourites went through their well-thumbed list of Tory deficiencies, countered for the Tories by Dr. Hill with the usual devastating account of the housing record of the Labour Party when they were in office. The Labour speakers had been reproaching the Tories for building only 300,000 houses a year, he said, but they had conveniently forgotten that when they were in power they had only once built more than 200,000 in a year. During the same period, he reminded them, the Labour Government built schools at only half the present rate, constructed hardly any roads, provided no hospitals, and made no effort at all to tackle the slums. He went on to quote several of their past statements which must have made those Labourites present squirm in their seats. "We shall build four or five million houses and knock down any amount of slums and rebuild our country in a very quick time"; "We will get the houses as we got the guns, by planning and control"; "Labour will organise a new approach to housing and organise the industry as a national service," were some of his choicer examples.

After the old Labour promises, came new Tory ones. "This is a social disease which we have to cure and which we intend to cure"; "The Government intend to see that every family has its home, and a decent home, that is the pledge." If words could build houses, indeed!

Way back in 1872, Frederick Engels wrote three articles, later made into a little book called *The Housing Question*. An extract from it appears on our front page this month. In his book, Engels was concerned to show that the reformists of his day could never, and would never, solve the housing problem.

Would he find anything fundamentally changed if he was to come back today?





## NEWS IN REVIEW

### Take-overs and Big Money

In big business, in many spheres, the mergers go on, involving sums of money large enough to be quite remote from any working class reality.

**Beer.** Whitbread is bringing off a £47 million merger with Flowers, one of the first firms to go into the keg beer market. Whitbread already hold some shares in Flowers and have a trading agreement with them. In the past, they seemed content to leave it at that. But last December, in similar circumstances, they took over Tennants; that, and the latest merger, seem to indicate a change of policy at Whitbread. Month by month the brewing firms get fewer and bigger. The Flowers take-over might be followed by a hot battle for the remaining independent companies.

**Food.** Nestlé, the big beverage and chocolate firm, have set up a £16 million company by taking over the Swedish frozen food group Marabou-Findus-Freja. Nestlé already own the Crosse and Blackwell tinned food concern and the Maggi soup business. The latest merger puts them into the British frozen food market, to challenge the sixty-four per cent. hold which Unilever have on it at the moment. The sales of frozen food in this country have leaped from £13 million in 1956 to £57 million a year today. Nestlé will be hoping that they will live up to expectations and reach £100 million by 1964. If this does not happen, Nestlé will not go broke: *The Guardian* reports them as one of the ten largest companies in the world.

**Building.** Twenty million pounds was involved in the merger between the Rugby Portland Cement Company and Eastwoods, the brick firm. Rugby, who have subsidiaries in Australia and the West Indies, have not taken over any firm for the last sixteen years. Their latest profit of over £2 million was a record for them, although like so many other companies their margins are under pressure.

As Capitalism gets older it gets bigger and more concentrated. As it does so, the worker grows more remote and per-

sonally insignificant. This is what Karl Marx said would happen, over a century ago. Nobody listened much to him then and nobody listens much now.

#### ALGERIA

### Terrorism

The official peace in Algeria hangs upon a slender thread.

The FLN control the countryside except for the oilfields, where the Europeans strongly support the Secret Army Organisation. In the cities the OAS continue to run riot, killing and provoking.

The popular theory, that if the French government could capture Salan they would finish the OAS, has been disproved. Events have shown that the nationalism of the *colons* has deeper roots. The colonels, said to be more ruthless than Salan, have taken over with reported sighs of relief that the ex-general no longer impedes them in the business of really serious terrorism.

The Moslems are suffering fearful provocation and strain coupled with chronic unemployment and, for some of them, near starvation. So far their obedience to the FLN policy of restraint has been remarkable, but it is anybody's guess how long it will hold out. The FLN leaders are themselves divided on the issue, with some of them sticking out for moving the Algerian army into the cities to clean up the OAS.

Algeria, in short, is a horrible mess. The original reasons for the conflict seem to have been somewhat blurred. Basically, they are: the Algerians want to run the country themselves, under their own ruling class, who will own the country's resources and exploit its workers. The French, who used to do this themselves, want to hang on to their possessions and rights.

For the workers on both sides no inter-

ests nor benefits are involved in this struggle. It should not concern an Algerian worker, nor a French one, that there is about to be a change in the nationality of the class which owns and exploits Algeria.

But nationalism, patriotism and simple ignorance can persuade workers all over the world to join in Capitalism's blood-baths.

They can persuade them to perform disgusting acts of terrorism. They persuaded the FLN to do this and they persuaded the OAS as well.

#### HOUSING IN LONDON

### Homeless

It is a long time since the late Aneurin Bevan promised that the housing situation would not be an issue at a future general election.

As usual with a politician's snappy phrase, it is difficult to get at Bevan's exact meaning. He may have been saying that, whatever hardships the workers met in their housing, they would forget them when the election came along. This is not an unsound assumption; working class voters forget many worse problems. That is one of the reasons they keep Capitalism in existence.

But perhaps Bevan meant that during the few years after 1945 the housing problem would be solved. If he did his promise, like so many others, has been discredited by the social system he tried to administer.

The London Council Council now has seven hundred and eighty-two homeless families, made up of 3,726 people, in its care. This is the most ever. The figure has been climbing steadily since the turn of the year; at the end of January the homeless families numbered six hundred and forty-seven.

This situation has forced the LCC to go back on its decision to close the emergency accommodation provided in places like Newington Lodge and Luxborough Lodge. These buildings came in for some heavy criticism a few months ago: they are old and exceedingly depressing places. The emergency centres will take only women and children, which means that, on top of their other worries, the homeless families are split up.

Here is a very bitter problem, which is not untypical in the sense that it is at the very heart of the degradation which poverty brings to the entire working class.

This is the class with a housing problem, because their living, and their

continued bottom page 85

## Fallacies on the Left

COMMENTING ON the Socialist Party contesting the recent Municipal Election in Glasgow, the *Scottish Daily Express* called us "a far left group." This is indicative of the childish view of the political scene held by the Press and by many workers.

According to this view the political parties in this country line up something like a football forward line with the Fascists at outside right, the Tories at inside right, the Liberals at centre forward, the Labour Party at inside left, and on the left wing C.N.D.'ers, Trotskyists, Communists and Uncle Tom Cobley and all.

Yet for all their differing programmes these organisations are united by their desire to operate capitalism. From the so called right wing to the out and out "leftwingers" you will find nothing about the abolition of the wages system appearing on their programmes. It is left to the Socialist Party of Great Britain to point out that only by the abolition of the wages system and the introduction of a society based on common ownership can the problems of war, unemployment, and poverty be overcome.

Since it is from this "left wing" of the Trotskyists and Labourite rebels that the claim to be Socialists is most often heard let us look at their policies and actions, bearing in mind that because a group calls itself Socialist it doesn't necessarily mean that it is. We saw a good example of this recently in the *Daily Mail*:

A spokesman in Seoul for Dr. Rhee's Liberal Party (now leaderless) said to-day it planned to change its name to the "Democratic Socialist Party"—but it would remain Conservative.

Every time the Socialist takes the "left-wingers" to task for the anti-working class policy of the Labour Party he gets the reply, "Ah, just wait until the

continued from previous page

standards of living, depend upon their wages. Capitalists, who get their living from their ownership of society's means of production, are simply too rich to suffer bad housing.

Working class poverty is an inescapable part of Capitalism, which means that housing will always be a sore spot for the workers.

Lots of well-meaning reformers have tried to solve this problem and have been beaten by it. So have quite a few, perhaps less well-meaning, politicians.

The left will triumph. What the Labour Party needs is left-wing leadership." Which shows quite clearly that the left wing shares the right wing's view on leadership and that although it claims to understand politics, it thinks the working class too stupid to comprehend the complexities involved. Instead, it sees them as a troop of boy scouts who need a left-wing scoutmaster to lead them to the promised land.

Socialists, on the other hand, say that not only can the working class understand Socialism, but that only by their understanding and organising for it can Socialism be brought about. Socialism is a new social system where there will be no buying or selling, where men and women will co-operate to produce wealth to the best of their ability and take according to their needs. Without the majority understanding what Socialism is, it is an impossibility.

Their emphasis on the importance of leadership shows that the left wingers do not understand the nature of Socialist society. In a society based on co-operation rather than coercion, the majority must willingly participate. Men cannot be led into Socialism.

Another aspect of the left wing that illustrates its anti-Socialist attitude, is the prevalent idea of gradually changing Capitalism into Socialism. This "creeping Socialism" they say, is more practical than the revolutionary proposition. Now bearing in mind that Socialism will have no private property and no money, how does this "creeping Socialism" stand up to examination? How is our gradualist going to abolish money? This week do away with the penny; the next the shilling; the next the half-crown; and so on? If such is the "creeping Socialist" concept he no doubt applauded the disappearance of the farthing.

Socialism may be gradual, in that the working class will gradually adopt Socialist ideas, but we realise that once the majority understand and desire Socialism they will revolutionise society by democratically taking hold of the State machine, declaring private property illegal, and instituting the common ownership of the world by the whole of society.

A favourite argument of those "left-wingers" who say that Socialists are wasting their time by remaining outside the Labour Party, is that the Labour

Party can be converted into a Socialist party by "leftwingers" boring from within. Let us have a look at this argument.

The S.P.G.B. was formed in 1904 by people who realised that only an independent Socialist party, restricted to those who understand Socialism, could be an efficient instrument of working class emancipation. Those who called the early Socialists "impossibilists" elected to bore from within the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party. The S.D.F. is now dead and buried and the I.L.P. is to all intents and purposes dead if not yet buried.

The Labour Party has been subjected to over fifty years of boring from within, but with what effect? Today even the vague claims of some of its early members to be Socialists appear to be dyed-in-the-wool revolutionary in comparison with the respectable, staunch support of Capitalism that the Labour Party now offers. It would be as difficult to find a Socialist in the modern Labour Party as an Anarchist in the League of Empire Loyalists.

The left wing of the Labour Party, in attempting to show they are less reactionary than their comrades playing at inside left, point out that they are in favour of more nationalisation, rent control, improved welfare facilities, and the rest. This is the same old rag bag of reforms that have been proffered by their other colleagues in the past.

The theory that nationalisation is Socialism, or a step towards Socialism, is patently absurd. Even in countries such as the United States, where no pseudo-Socialist party such as the Labour Party has been in power, Capitalism has found it necessary to have state control over some industries. If those who favour nationalisation are Socialists then such people as Churchill and Mussolini must be classed as such.

There is in reality no right-wing and left-wing in British politics. All the reformist parties, whether they be Fascist, Communist or Labour, stand for Capitalism. We have no more sympathy with the left-wing of the Labour Party than with the inside left. For the Socialist there is only one attitude towards the Labour Party, whatever position they elect to play in, unqualified opposition.

KELVIN.



## Russia Puts the Clock Back

BEFORE 1914 Socialism had a definite meaning, understood by all who claimed to be Socialist. It meant the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution. This was accepted by the Social Democratic Parties that were developing in different parts of the world, most of whom gave allegiance to Marxism.

In these parties there were writers who made first class theoretical contributions to Marxism. Writers such as Plechanov, Kautsky, Labriola, Lafargue, Bauer, Boudin, Luxemburg, and many others. All of these people were in the Second International along with Lenin, Trotsky, and other Bolsheviks. In fact, in those days, Lenin had a great respect for Plechanov, from whom he had learnt much, and he described Kautsky as one of the best theoreticians in the Socialist movement.

Where, however, they all came to grief was on the question of reformism. In theory they were sound, but on the practical side they were weak. Whilst advocating and writing about Socialism they also felt it incumbent upon them to take steps to try and ameliorate the conditions of the workers by having a lengthy platform of reforms. They also looked upon state ownership as a stepping stone to Socialism. This attitude attracted to the ranks of the Social Democratic Parties large numbers of people who were only interested in particular reforms, and had no real understanding of the class division in society or the Socialist objective. They gave lip service to the ideas without understanding them, or even being interested in them.

Had this been all that had happened it might have been possible to rescue something out of the confusion, and spread sound Socialist understanding, after the 1914-1918 war. Particularly as workers everywhere, feeling that they had been betrayed, were in a ferment of discontent. But the Bolsheviks, by corruption, distortion, betrayal and mud slinging, destroyed this possibility, setting out by lies, trickery and distortion to politically, and sometimes physically, destroy all the parties and individuals who were not prepared to be abject tools of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

In the first flush of Bolshevik victory radical parties all over the world ac-

claimed the victory and gave them generous support, even where they had doubts on some of the methods adopted. The German Social Democratic Party, when threatened, sent to Russia the writings of Marx and Engels and other archives for safe-keeping, believing that Russia was now a budding free Socialist state where writings and documents would be safe from interference. How wrong they were!

It soon became evident that Russia was not embarked upon even a democratic society. The secret police and the concentration camp were on the way.

The mass of the Russian people knew nothing about Socialism; most of them could not even read. The peasants, who formed the bulk of the population, wanted land, and all wanted peace and bread. It was on the basis of the peace, bread and land programme that the Bolsheviks were enabled to seize power.

### Treachery and Terrorism

Once in power the Bolsheviks established what they misnamed the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In fact, it was nothing of the kind. It was not even the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party (which again they misnamed the Communist Party), but the dictatorship of a small inner group with Lenin as the guiding star. They established a system of treachery and terrorism, first against opposing elements and eventually internally against those who would not abjectly submit to the dictates of the inner circle. In the end this led to members of the inner circle trying to destroy each other. It reproduced the position in the French Revolution when one group ate another until finally Napoleon was left at the top. First Trotsky, then Kamenev Zinoviev and Radek fell victims to the terrorism they had built up. Fortunately for him, Lenin died before he could become a victim of the system in which he was the leading actor.

Money was lavished, in spite of Russian penury, to influence elements abroad to give abject submission to the dictates of the small group of Russian dictators. Unscrupulous adventurers, with no interest whatever in Socialism, were sent abroad armed with large sums of money, for the purpose of disrupting

and destroying radical movements in other countries, and building up groups that acted as foreign agents of the Russian dictatorship. The old secret police of Czarism was copied in the building up of the OGPU, which infiltrated everywhere and set friends and families against each other. Finally, all freedom of expression was killed as no one dare voice any criticism of the despotism for fear of prison, the concentration camp or execution.

In attacking all who would not give unquestioning submission to their changing tactics and ruthless suppressions, the Russian dictators twisted Marxism into its opposite. State Capitalism, which the supporters of the Second International had only looked upon as a stepping stone to Socialism, was established in Russia and declared to be Socialism—thus giving the enemies of Socialism a much desired weapon.

The Third International, which the Russian dictatorship set up for the purpose of disorganising radical parties in the West, was abandoned as soon as its aim had been accomplished.

Now, in the effort to build up Socialist parties, one supreme task has been added to the rest; the need to unveil the falsity of Russian propaganda and take the name of Socialism out of the mud in which the Russian leaders and their henchmen have immersed it. And still today the supporters of the Russian dictatorship everywhere carry out the intriguing, tortuous and hypocritical policy of their mentors.

The Bolsheviks have certainly put the clock back and, in the name of Socialism, have built up one of the most ruthless Capitalist states that have ever existed. Even the forms of democracy that exist in the Western world cannot be found there.

Evidence for the duplicity and ruthlessness of the inner Bolshevik clique in the early days is given in profusion in Angelica Bolabanoff's *My Life as a Rebel*. She went to Russia as to the shrine of Socialism, and she became the first secretary of the Third International; but later left Russia disillusioned and broken-hearted, severing her connection with the Russian group after what she had witnessed.

Critics, enemies, and anyone who displeased the inner circle or influential

members of the bureaucracy were sent to concentration camps, mostly in Siberia, where they were ill-fed, ill-clothed, and overworked in the bitter cold. Thousands died, and many more became physical wrecks. The story is a horrible one of cold-hearted ruthlessness.

Claiming that the end justified the means, however perfidious, the Russian Autocracy are now firmly establishing a typical Capitalist state, armed with the most terrible means of human destruction and threatening, whilst their alleged end has disappeared into obscurity in face of diplomatic and blackmailing manoeuvres for better trading opportuni-

ties. But they have done more damage to the movement for Socialism than even the most ruthless avowed Capitalist states. The latter proclaimed their antagonism to Socialism and could be met in the light, whereas the Russian dictatorship claims to be sponsors of Socialism and works in the dark.

Hard as the road to Socialism always was, the Russians have made it harder, and have destroyed, or driven to despair, many genuine fighters for the workers' freedom from Capitalism, even if some of these have been mistaken in their methods.

The lesson to be drawn from the

## Who is in Charge?

THE GOVERNMENT is now well past its halfway mark and soon it must start thinking about the timing of the next general election. Whatever date it decides on, we may be sure that it will be the result of a careful calculation. A time like the present, with bye-elections running against it and with signs of internal strain, is not likely to be chosen. Mr. Macmillan—if he is still Prime Minister—will try to wait until he can feel surer of victory. This does not mean that he will leave it until the last minute, which would give him little room for manoeuvre. It does mean that, as in the past, the next election will almost certainly be held some time before the government's term expires in October, 1964. This time next year, then, the decision may not be far off.

Whenever they are called upon to vote, the workers in this country will display all the bemused docility which we have grown accustomed to. They will concentrate on the wrong issues, at the wrong time. They will allow themselves to be misled by the government's claim to have been a sage, responsible administration and by the clamour from the opposition parties that they are the men to put fire into the belly of British capitalism. The workers will not pause to consider the futility of it all and to compare the anomalies of Capitalism with the obvious impotence of the political parties to deal with them. As a whole, they will not even toy with the idea that it might be a good thing to abolish Capitalism and to have Socialism instead.

We can say all this with some confidence, because experience has taught us that the working class prefer to take Capitalism on trust to what must be the painful business of thinking and remembering and comparing. The election

policies of the Tories, the Labour Party and the others always amount to a claim that they are able to control Capitalism. As each of Capitalism's crises blows up, there is no lack of political leaders to make speeches which state their solution to it. City Editors are prolific with schemes which put the politicians straight. Nobody seems to notice that some of the schemes are not very different from those which are being blamed for producing the crisis in the first place and that some of the bright ideas contradict others which have been offered before as the solution to our problems.

Let us, for example, consider the recent reversal of the government's policies of last July, when Selwyn Lloyd pushed through his emergency Budget. The

Russian experience is the impossibility of a small group of leaders, with a mass of blind supporters, ushering in anything other than some form of dictatorship; certainly not Socialism. The supreme need of the workers is an understanding of Socialism, what it is and what it implies, and organising together for the sole purpose of achieving it. Finally, that Socialism is an international system which cannot be achieved in one country alone, but requires the understanding and harmonious co-operation of all the workers of the world.

GILMAC.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

main provisions of that Budget were the increase of Bank Rate to seven per cent., the increase of some taxes by ten per cent. of the previous rate and the imposition of the pay pause. These policies were necessary, said the government, because we had all been living too well. The working class forgot to ask themselves when Capitalism had ever allowed them to live anywhere near as well as some of the people who make speeches about the Budget. They grumbled a little about it, but in the main meekly accepted it. The Budget was sold to them as essential to save British Capitalism—and there is no higher task to which a British worker can feel himself called.

Since then, apparently, British Capitalism has been saved, because the emergency Budget has gone. Bank Rate has come down steadily until now it is lower than it was last July. The pay pause, formally at any rate, is finished; workers who ask for higher wages have some other reason given to them for the employers' resistance to their claim. The ten per cent. increase in taxes has been dropped; some taxes, in fact, have been even further reduced. The entire tax structure has been somewhat simplified, which may be a clue to a new theory hatching in the Treasury—that British Capitalism would work better if it imposed a uniform sales tax upon its Capitalist class instead of the various purchase taxes which apply at present. There is, of course, no evidence to support this theory and in any case it has nothing to do with working class interests. But never mind; the experts at the Treasury must cultivate restless minds to keep up with Capitalism and it all makes good copy for the election programmes.

Perhaps the experts would feel more confident about the effectiveness of their



remedies if they could all agree on them. But this they cannot do—is it any wonder then that mere inept Socialists should have so little confidence in them? Each time a Chancellor slaps restrictions on—or takes them off—the economy, there is a chorus of dissenters who assure us that he is too late or too early, too bold or too timid, or just plain wrong. In July, 1960, for example, the government reverted to the sort of credit restrictions which they have been imposing for years, on and off. This was met with anything but unanimous applause. *The Guardian* commented on July 5th, 1960:

The past week has brought fresh support for those who questioned the need for the Chancellor's latest round of credit restrictions. The Board of Trade's admission that hire purchase sales in May dropped below last year's level simply confirms the view, expressed by many manufacturers and traders, that the boom in demand for consumer durable goods had already slackened off... the Government ought to have been congratulating itself on achieving a desirable new balance in the economy, rather than imposing new restrictions.

Newspapers, of course, need only comment upon the muddle which political parties get themselves into when they try to run Capitalism. Happily for the press, they do not have to involve themselves in trying to sort out the muddle. Even so, newspapers may sometimes hit upon the basic features of a crisis. There is an obvious question which is provoked by the continual upsets which Capitalism's economy is heir to, and by the contradictory policies which are put forward to settle these upsets. Do the politicians, the economists and the Chancellors control the economy? Or does the economy control them? As we have seen, *The Guardian* thought that the Chancellor in 1960 was trailing a long way behind events. And this is what Samuel Brittan, the Economic Editor of *The Observer*—who thought the pay pause was a good idea—wrote on September 3rd, 1961, about the effect of the Lloyd policy:

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

The Government's hand will be enormously strengthened in the coming months by a marked change of trend in the labour market, which actually began as early as June... unemployment has since been creeping up and unfilled vacancies have been declining... labour should become a good deal easier to obtain in the coming months.

At the same time manufacturers will find orders on the domestic market fewer and further between; and with profit margins under pressure they will offer fiercer resistance to wage claims... All this was without Selwyn Lloyd, who has administered a cold douche to an economy that was probably already coming off the boil even without his efforts.

#### Current Trends

What this means is that the Chancellor's policies are only a desperate attempt to straighten some of the wilder zig-zags of Capitalism. They do not run counter to the current trends in the economy; they do not try to deflate a boom, nor to shake out a slump. They do not, in fact, have any considerable effect upon economic conditions, but only reflect those conditions, usually some time after they have passed by. Samuel Brittan's rival—Mr. Rees-Mogg, the Political and Economic Editor of *The Sunday Times*—summed it up for us all on July 30th, 1961: "... what Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has produced is not a policy, it is a reaction."

We can now consider the conditions which make the Chancellor's policies for him. Two of the industries which *The Guardian* mentioned as being in difficulties were those making cars and domestic appliances. These were among the industries which cashed in on the post war boom; they built great factories, often in old depressed areas of the country. They invested tens of millions of pounds in their productive machine and up to a few years ago this all seemed to be paying off. They were riding high. Times have changed since then. The motor car firms have suffered violent ups and downs—some of them have gone altogether and others are sickly plants.

Similar conditions have hit the domestic appliance trade. A. J. Flatley, a washing machine, drier and refrigerator firm which suddenly sprang up in Manchester a few years ago, to expand at great speed, has recently gone bankrupt. Hoovers are busily cutting their cloth to suit a severely restricted coat—last year they took a fifty per cent. cut in their profits. Hotpoint—part of the mighty Associated Electrical Industries—have recently reduced their washing machine prices to catch sales in a hardening market. We all know what has happened to the price

of refrigerators over the past few years, and to some of the firms which make them.

Now why does this happen, to these industries and to others? In August, 1960, the *Economic Review*, published by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, drew attention to what it called the "over capacity" of the durable consumer industries. This "over capacity" was largely the result of the enormous investment which was placed when consumer durables were booming. When the boom slackened the extra productive power became an embarrassment—stocks of machines accumulated, production had to be cut and workers laid off. That is the immediate, at any rate, explanation of a slump.

The fundamental explanation goes deeper. What could the consumer durable firms have done to avert the decline? Should they have held off their investment when the boom was going strong? Of course, they could not. At the time, intense investment was not merely a good idea, it was an absolute must for a company which wanted to get its share of the market. Could they then have correctly gauged the market, foreseen how long it would hold and so forecast the slump? This is something they have never been able to do, nor ever will be able to. The Capitalist class train up expensive experts and economists, but still they are caught napping by the disappearance of a market.

For Capitalism's slumps, like its booms, happen because its wealth—whether it is motor cars, washing machines or anything else—is made to be sold. This means that the market is the key to Capitalism's fortunes. And the market is a capricious, unpredictable, anarchic thing. It sums up Capitalism, that its fortunes should rest in such uncertainty.

So we know that as fast as one policy is knocked from under him, the Chancellor must come up with another. They all will be equally ineffective, but that will not stop him groping for another palliative, another stopgap, another lame horse to sell to the working class. Rees-Mogg put it bluntly in his article when he said: "The Chancellor is not in charge of the economic machine: it is in charge of him."

Sadly, this will almost certainly pass the working class by, when the next election gets under way. Then there will be many lame horses on display at capitalism's political market place. The voters will prod them over, examine their manes and finally plump for one or the other. A depressing prospect? For humanity, yes. But for those who pocket the proceeds, no.

IVAN.

## FINANCE & INDUSTRY

### The Stock Exchange



THE STOCK EXCHANGE has spent some time over the past years in trying to improve its public image, which was so badly mauled by the slumps between the wars. About eight years ago a Visitors' Gallery was opened, from which anybody can watch the Exchange at work. The Secretary's department is eager to answer any enquiries and will send a list of brokers on request. And now, although they have always frowned firmly and finally upon any broker advertising himself, the Stock Exchange is itself launching out on a publicity campaign.

The theme is that the work of the Exchange vitally affects us all and that without it we would all be a lot worse off. "Without investment," says one advertisement, "British commerce would just cease to exist. And without the Stock Exchange, investment would be next to impossible." Vintage ad-man's stuff, this. Capitalism always took care to develop the machinery which its property basis needed, but that does not make that machinery socially desirable or useful. The Stock Exchange was developed to organise some of Capitalism's investments, but even without it there would still have been a Capitalist class who would have grown very rich from the work of the rest of us. So when the Stock Exchange pats itself on the back they are making a social virtue out of an anti-social necessity.

Who are the advertisements intended to influence? Presumably the Capitalists, who have the money to invest, already know all about the Stock Exchange. This must also apply to the trustees and the funds' organisers whose job it is to invest other people's money. Could the ads. be aimed at the worker who has a little money which he would normally put aside in the Post Office, for his holiday or something similar? A small gamble in stocks and shares would be enough to convince many workers that they were Capitalists and so make them loyal supporters of Capitalism. But many workers who play the shares find that for everyone who wins on the Stock Exchange somebody else must lose and that, although the Capitalists can take

these losses, to lose is a different matter for them.

So we exclude ourselves from the scope of the advertisement's claim, that the Stock Exchange is "... helping us all to live as we want to." Socialists want to live in a free world, which is owned by its people. The Stock Exchange does not help us to live that life; in fact, it does just the opposite. By misleading workers into accepting Capitalism as a dynamic, logical, beneficial system it prevents us all from living not just the lives we want but the lives we desperately need.

#### How few own how much?

There are certain essential facts about Capitalism upon which we have always based our case against it. However the system may change in small ways, these facts are as relevant today as they always have been.

One of them is that the overwhelming mass of the world's wealth is owned by only a small proportion of its population. That, like all property societies, Capitalism is made up of a small number of owners and a vast majority who own nothing or virtually nothing.

Equally important is the fact that this pattern has remained fundamentally unchanged over the years.

As long ago as 1904, Sir Leo Chiozza Money showed that about one-third of the country's total income was taken by only 3 per cent. of the population. In 1908, he estimated that about half was taken by 12 per cent.

In 1913, Sir J. C. Stamp calculated that no more than 36,000 owned about one-third of the total national wealth and that 400,000, or a tenth of the population, owned two-thirds of it. Another investigation by Daniels and Campion showed that in the same year one per cent. of the population owned 70 per cent. of the total capital and that 5 per cent. owned between 85 and 90 per cent.

The same investigators estimated that in 1924 one per cent. owned 60 per cent.

of the national wealth and that 5 per cent. still owned 80 per cent. of it.

How has this position changed at the present time? In spite of all the talk of the "affluent society" and "you've never had it so good," hardly at all.

The Economic Editor of the *Observer* has recently calculated that 27 per cent. of total personal wealth is accounted for by one-half of one per cent. of the people; 35 per cent. by one per cent.; 42 per cent. by 1½ per cent.; and 52 per cent. by 2½ per cent. He adds that all these calculations probably under-estimate both the total of wealth and the inequality of its distribution since most of its owners have already taken steps to avoid the full effects of death duties (his figures are based on Inland Revenue estate duty figures).

#### And in the United States.

As chance would have it, a similar enquiry about the position in the United States has just been published. It reveals that in 1953 a minority of 11 per cent. owned 60 per cent. of the total American assets. These figures are again based on estate duty returns and would appear to under-estimate the true proportions as with the U.K. figures.

We hope to get hold of the book in due course to see what other information it gives about wealth ownership under American Capitalism, but even the sparse details quoted above make it clear that the position is basically similar to that in Britain.

#### Omission.

The paragraph on the railways in last month's issue unfortunately omitted to mention the amount of interest still paid out yearly on the £1,000 million of government stock handed over to the former railway owners by the Labour Government in 1946. The figure is £30 million.

Almost £500 million has therefore since been paid out in interest by a concern which is now so deep in the red that nothing will apparently save it. And this interest will continue to be distributed year in and year out unless the government should one day decide to redeem the stock. Should this happen, the lucky bondholders will be paid out at par to the tune of the full £1,000 million.

No doubt about it, whatever our Labour Government did not do, they certainly did the railway owners proud.

S. H.



## Islands in the Doldrums

*Oil and sunshine  
Keeps the Yankees looking fine:  
Oil and sunshine,  
With a glass of local wine*

OIL, SUNSHINE, and Yankees. Perhaps the composer of this recently popular calypso was more interested in the local wine, but he summed up the importance of the West Indies in the modern world neatly enough.

Trinidad's oil is the most important mineral product of the West Indies. Sunshine and a satisfactory rainfall allow crops (the most important being sugar-cane) which form the basis of most of the islands' economy. Lastly, the American Government keeps a stern, albeit paternal eye on the Caribbean as an important "outpost of democracy" and guardian of the eastern approaches to the Panama Canal.

But what are the West Indies? The term is in fact little more than an abstraction. To British people they mean those collections of islands forming the West Indies Federation. The French refer to *les Antilles* and mean particularly the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique and French Guiana. Then there are the islands of the Dutch West Indies, the "independent" island of Cuba, the American Virgin Islands, the twin "independent" states of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and the American satellite state of Puerto Rico. And what about the neighbouring mainland countries: British Guiana and British Honduras, Dutch Guiana (Surinam), and the Central American states bordering on the Caribbean? Do not their strategic positions and trading potentials label them as parts of the West Indies?

The truth is that the West Indies are a widespread collection of islands (Jamaica and Trinidad are 1,000 miles apart), possibly associated with countries on the South American mainland, with different cultural backgrounds, with people speaking many different languages, and having different economic affiliations to European and American colonial powers.

Little wonder that a succession of fact-finding committees and international committees of experts, have been sorely tried to propound a solution, within the framework of capitalism, for the ills of this economic, cultural, and political hodge-podge. And, as we shall see,

problems there certainly are, especially for that section of the West Indian population which must seek an employer in order to live—the working class.

If the West Indies' future is uncertain and unpromising, at least their past may be described with some accuracy: a past that exemplifies colonial expansion, capitalist accumulation of wealth, and the subjugation of a working class, with all the romance and colour of a Hollywood movie.

### Search for Gold

The recorded history of the West Indies starts with their discovery by Columbus at the end of the fifteenth century. Columbus believed, and claimed, that he had found islands off the coast of Eastern Asia—hence the name West "Indies."

The islands were already inhabited by tribes of aboriginal Indians, the Arawaks and the Caribs. These unfortunate Indians (the only "original" West Indians, despite Negro nationalist propaganda) were either destroyed or subjugated by the European settlers.

Following Columbus' various expeditions, the then strong Spanish crown founded a Spanish empire in the Caribbean and South America. Cuba and Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic) were the bases from which forces sailed for the conquest of Mexico, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and the lands in South America.

The driving force was the search for gold. More and more Spanish settlers arrived in quest of this, bringing with them the Spanish form of municipal government (the *cabildo*), vestiges of which later continued under British rule. They also brought agricultural stock—rice, citrus fruit trees, bananas, and, most important of all, sugar-cane. Local crops were limited, the most important being maize, cassava (bread-stuff), and tobacco.

The search for gold proved fruitless on the whole but in the words of Parry and Sherlock, "The story of sugar is a continuous thread running through the whole history of the West Indies." Because most of the West Indian islands are hilly and therefore have limited areas of arable land, the only economical crop was found to be one which gave a high yield per acre and a high price; it was mainly

because of these factors that sugar and not cotton became the staple crop. Furthermore, sugar can be grown by unskilled labour and does not exhaust the ground.

The shortage of labour (both skilled and unskilled) to grow, harvest, mill, and process the crop (sugar-cane must be milled and processed soon after harvesting) became a pressing problem for the Spanish land-owners: there were virtually no "free" labourers, very few "forced" labourers, and the Arawaks and Caribs were either extinct or unfitted for life as agricultural labourers. The first batch of Negro slaves from the West Coast of Africa to supply these labour needs were shipped by the Spanish to the West Indies early in the sixteenth century.

The forty-year period of economic and territorial domination of the West Indies by Spain was broken by the outbreak of war with France in 1536, and from that date France, Spain, Holland, and England were in more or less constant conflict over possession of the islands, trade routes, and trading rights. Admirals Drake and Hawkins were the most illustrious of England's band of official pirates. Unofficial pirates, or buccaneers (the most famous being Captain Morgan), operated with the approval of colonial governors against Spanish settlements and shipping, and were paid by booty.

Islands were captured and re-captured. Barbados was the only island taken by England which never changed hands. Jamaica was taken by the British in the middle of the seventeenth century; this was a great prize, for a contemporary described Jamaica as "lying in the very belly of all commerce." Trinidad was captured from the Spanish by the French, and by the British from the French in 1797, during the Napoleonic wars. Eventually, mainly because of superior sea power and possession of the only two naval dockyards (Port Royal in Jamaica and English Harbour in Antigua), Britain became the dominant imperialist power in the Caribbean.

The growth of the trade in sugar and the trade in men went hand in hand.

French and English settlers soon discovered that, along with cotton, West Indian tobacco (which was found to be inferior to the Virginian type) were not profitable crops; for reasons already

given, and because the demand for it in Europe was growing steadily, sugar became the main crop.

Considerable capital was needed to establish a sugar factory, and a plantation had to be large enough to keep the factory supplied with sugar-cane; it is thus easy to see why the small sugar-cane holdings were soon swallowed up by large estates and why eventually the industry fell into the hands of a few capitalists. Today, for example, all the large estates and all the factories in Trinidad are owned by Tate and Lyle.

### Indentured Labour

There was soon a cry for labour to work the estates and the factories. First of all, indentured ("free") labourers were brought from Europe, with the promise of small-holdings at the end of their contracts (if they lived that long). When virtually all the arable land had been swallowed up by the large estates, the supply of indentured labourers rapidly dwindled. Political prisoners ("Royalists" and Irish) and convicted felons were shipped: these were dubbed "white slaves" by the Negroes and were treated as badly as, if not worse than, the Negro slaves. But these were not enough to satisfy the needs of the profit-hungry sugar owners and so, like the Spanish and Portuguese before them, the French and English planters had to buy slaves, mostly Negroes from the West Coast of Africa.

The slave traders were as anxious to sell their human commodities as the plantation owners were to buy them. By the middle of the seventeenth century a steady stream of slaves was leaving Sierra Leone, the Niger Delta, and the Slave and Ivory Coasts to face disease and death in the overcrowded slave ships, and an uncertain future of back-breaking toil at the hands of the rapacious sugar planters. Barbados had a few hundred Negroes in 1640, but by 1645 there were over 6,000, and in 1685 no less than 46,000.

There were few white sugar owners and overseers to control this rising black tide of resentful, sullen and undisciplined slaves, many of whom came from warlike tribes. Soon isolated uprisings caused severe penalties to be imposed; typical of such repressive acts of legislation was the French *Code Noir*.

The slave trade was one of the most profitable enterprises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—for the owners of the slave ships. The death-rate among the crews of the "slavers" was usually about the same as among the slaves they carried. Although the

Spanish started the slave trade, eventually four countries (Portugal, Holland, England, and France) gained control. There was much competition between the various powers over the monopoly of such a lucrative business and to put a stop to keen Dutch competition Charles II of England granted a charter to the "Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa" in 1663. This slave-trading organisation later became the Royal Africa Company, about which Parry and Sherlock say: "Several members of the royal family were shareholders in this enterprise, which was to supply the English sugar colonies with 3,000 slaves a year at an average price of £17, or one ton of sugar, per slave. The purchase price in Africa at that time was about £3."

The first European war to be fought over the West Indies began in 1739 between England, Spain, and France. It was frankly called a "war of trade," and was dubbed "the war of Jenkin's ear" after an English sea captain who complained to parliament of Spanish hindrance to his trading activities in the Caribbean. From this time the three powers fought intermittently until the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, and many islands changed hands. For the English ruling class, this was a golden opportunity to cripple French sugar production by destroying both crops and machines and by capturing slaves. This period of imperialist skirmishing (which included the Seven Years' War) was influenced, to the disadvantage of the English ruling class, by the American war of Independence, which drew English military and naval reserves from the Caribbean.

### Plantation System

Despite wars and rumours of wars, however, for the sugar owners in the West Indian islands, the eighteenth century was probably the period of greatest prosperity. But it was also during this peak period of "plantation economy" that the seeds of future economic problems were sown, problems which teams of economic "experts," government committees, etc., are attempting to solve to this day. The most important defect in the plantation system was monoculture, the growing of one crop. Other features were slavery, absentee ownership (most plantation owners lived in England and left the running of their estates to bailiffs), and the dependence of the traders on markets in the outside world.

To make matters worse, economic problems in the Caribbean have periodic-

ally been accentuated by natural disasters (hurricanes, droughts, and epidemic disease, such as cholera and yellow fever), from which some islands have taken years to recover.

However hard the planters tried, they were powerless to prevent their slaves learning about the world outside the slave compounds. It was thus inevitable that at the turn of the nineteenth century "leaders" emerged from the ranks of the slaves: men who had heard the rallying cry of the French Revolution, "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and preached that this slogan should apply to slaves as well as to the plantation owners.

### Slave Labour

Unrest and rebellion spread among the slaves and in 1791 the slave population of the northern plain of Saint-Domingue (later to be renamed Haiti) revolted, systematically firing some fields and houses and murdering the white inhabitants. Out of this bloody rising, during which both sides acted with the utmost savagery, arose the first Negro slave leader to prove himself competent both as a military commander and as a politician—Toussaint "L'Ouverture."

Movements for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade had for some years before the uprisings also been gaining strength in liberal circles in Britain. Various governments declared the slave trade illegal between the years 1808-1820 and slavery was abolished in all the West Indian colonies, except the Spanish, by the middle of the nineteenth century.

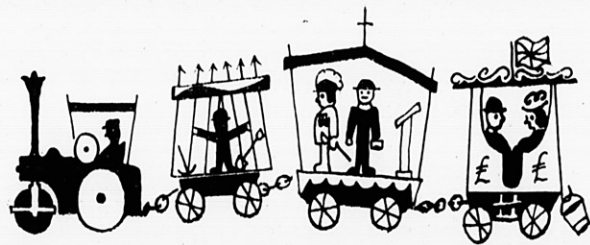
The erstwhile slaves soon found that they had exchanged one form of slavery for another. As one historian points out, "the Act which abolished slavery did not emancipate the slaves . . . As a social institution slavery disappeared . . . and it came back as a system of industry, the negroes . . . having to work as slaves for so many hours a week."

Slavery was also a very mixed blessing for the plantation owners. It is true that the owners were reasonably assured of a constant supply of labourers who could not leave the plantations: following "emancipation" many ex-slaves left for more congenial work or to run small-holdings. But slave-labour was not very productive and the slave owners were bound to feed, clothe, and shelter their slaves. Sugar farming is largely seasonal, but the owners could not dispense with their slaves after the crop was harvested and processed as they now can with their wage-workers.

[To be concluded]

M. I.





## THE PASSING SHOW

### Censured

In the May SOCIALIST STANDARD was reprinted part of an article on the Titanic disaster from the May 1912, issue. It recalled some of the unsavoury details of the tragedy—the desperate rush (in order to attract the rich trans-atlantic passengers) to break speed records for the crossing, which resulted in an insufficient look-out being kept; the much higher proportion of first-class than steerage passengers rescued; the officer who kept steerage passengers from the lifeboat with his revolver; and so on. Now another significant piece of evidence has come to light.

As the Titanic went down, many of those on board clearly saw a ship which made no attempt to come to the rescue. Afterwards, it was found that the liner Californian had been in the vicinity at the time of the Titanic's collision with an iceberg. At the subsequent enquiry the captain of this ship was censured for not going to the help of the Titanic, although he maintained to the end that he had never seen the Titanic's distress rockets.

### Under observation

Now the general secretary of the Mercantile Marine Service Association has claimed that it was the Norwegian ship Samson which saw the Titanic in distress at less than 10 miles range. But (according to a recent Norwegian TV broadcast, quoting the Samson's chief officer) this ship, which could have given invaluable assistance, then steamed away.

Why did it do that? Why did the captain and crew of the Samson so deny their common humanity with the crew and passengers of the Titanic as to leave 1,635 men, women and children to drown?

They steamed away "because they had been engaged in illegal seal hunting operations, and thought they were under observation by the American authorities."

Having broken Capitalism's laws, they feared punishment by the Capitalist state authorities. As so often happens, Capitalism forced these men to stifle their pity, and behave without compassion.

The whole Titanic episode, in fact, seems to offer a microcosm of the workings of Capitalist society.

### WHAT—AGAIN?

Yes. Afraid so. This is another appeal for funds. If you want our work to continue, we must have more money—and quickly.

In the past year or two, there has been an all-round spurt in our efforts. Big and successful indoor meetings have been held and more are planned. Two new pamphlets are on the stocks and will appear shortly. A drive is under way to increase the circulation of the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

But that is not all. Our Glasgow members have contested a ward in the recent municipal election there, while just across the sea, the comrades in Ireland are limbering up for yet another go at the polls. We must not be caught napping, either, if a general election takes place in Britain—as it could do at any time. So even now, as much of our election literature as possible is being prepared.

This is all very welcome activity but it needs money, and bags of it. We have never been a rich party and our only source of income is the money given by members and sympathisers. Our bank balance is looking a bit sickly and we must fatten it up to meet the heavy demands expected in the near future.

So please send as much as you can to:—E. Lake, Treasurer S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Do not delay. The need—as always—is urgent.

ALWYN EDGAR.

### Confidence

Even for the Capitalists Fascism has its drawbacks. It makes wartime propaganda, about the defence of freedom, and so on, even more difficult to put across than it is in the democracies; and it is an expensive system—the secret police have to be paid, and to keep even one political prisoner in jail costs many pounds a week. So while the Fuhrers and Dukes and Caudillos of Fascism strut vaingloriously on their balconies and pull out their chests before their gigantic rallies, each one knows at the back of his mind that he is there because he is doing a job for his ruling class.

Which is why General Francisco Franco, Caudillo of Spain, must be a worried man just now.

In Asturias 30,000 miners have come out on a pay strike. Franco has had to proclaim a state of emergency covering Asturias and the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, where several thousand more workers have gone on strike. Altogether, more than 50,000 are involved. Students demonstrating in Madrid shouted support for the Asturian miners, and several were arrested, joining the 50 workers already reported to be in jail.

As *The Observer* (6/5/62) puts it:

The crisis constitutes the most serious challenge to General Franco's regime since the end of the Second World War.

If the Government can get the strikers back to work only by force of arms, it is likely that the industrialists, who have for so long supported the regime without question, will lose some of their confidence in General Franco's ability to safeguard their interests.

And if the industrialists lose their confidence in Franco, there is no future for him.

### "Defence"

Mr. George Wigg, Labour M.P., is worried about the state of the army. He thinks Britain does not have enough soldiers. And he does not hesitate to apportion the blame. Recently he stated forthrightly:

The responsibility for the state of the Army lies fairly and squarely on the shoulders of those politicians of both parties who took their decisions about Army manpower because it was politically convenient so to do and not in the light of Britain's defence needs.

Britain's Capitalist class need never lose sleep over the next war, while they have Labour M.P.s like Mr. Wigg to look after their "defence needs" for them.

## BOOKS

### Frank Buchan's Secret

WHEN Geoffrey Williamson wrote his assessment of Moral Rearmament in 1954, he certainly was not exaggerating when he complained of "excessive adulation," of the founder, Frank Buchman. He had this to say:

His followers revere him, rush to do his slightest bidding, and quote his most commonplace utterances as if they were fraught with inspired meaning . . .

Well, Dr. Buchman died in Germany at the beginning of August last year, and now comes the latest book about him *Frank Buchman's Secret*, by Peter Howard (Heinemann). The spiel on the dust cover tells us the book is not concerned with praise, but don't you believe it. Posthumous adoration oozes stickily from practically every page. And although Mr. Howard's opening words positively assert that there was a secret in Frank Buchman's life, he does not seem inclined to share it with us. In spite of close and diligent attention, we are not, in fact, much wiser at the end than we were at the beginning.

We can, of course, guess at this secret. Was it perhaps the shrewd knack which Buchman had of finding chinks in the emotional armour of those who "came to scoff but stayed to praise"? There are any number of stories in the book pointing to this. Or was it, as Williamson has put it, that the Doctor had a flair for publicity and a gift for inspiring others with a zeal often more fanatical than his own? Probably we shall never really know, but the man was clever without a doubt.

There is nothing really new to learn from this latest book—nothing which has not been told already in the countless works published on MRA. In a series of anecdotes, we are taken over the same old ground covering Buchman's early days as a Lutheran Minister in USA, his quarrel with the governors of a boys' hostel and his visit to England, where many years later in 1938, he launched his movement. It is claimed that its support is now numbered in millions, although no reliable figures are available because MRA does not keep an official membership roll.

No doubt MRA has had some influence in World affairs, and during his life-

time Buchman rubbed shoulders with all sorts of statesmen and politicians. But we would have to let our credulity get really out of hand to accept the sweeping claims which are dotted here and there throughout the book. Were you aware, for example, that Buchman and his boys have " . . . played an unseen but effective part in international agreements," helped decisively to settle the Cyprus, Congo and Moroccan problems, stopped the 1960 Tokyo Youth Riots, and brought about "the new accord and understanding between Germany and France." All this on a diet of "God Guidance," and absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

The truth is, of course, that the world is pretty much the same now as it was when Dr. Buchman arrived on the scene. Despite Mr. Howard's hollow optimism and MRA's political dabbling, it is still very much a Capitalist world with all the rivalries and hatreds associated with it. One crisis is settled—at least for the time being and with or without MRA's help—and is quickly succeeded by another in gruesome procession. These are the uncomfortable facts MRA and its founder



### GOOD READING

Arj, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4 POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

have always ignored. Right to within a few hours of his death, Buchman was repeating his empty catchwords, "I want to see the world governed by men governed by God. . . ." The possibility of a world without governors of any kind never occurred to him.

E. T. C.

### AFRICAN ATLAS

AN ATLAS OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, by Andrew Boyd and Patrick van Rensburg. Methuen, 14s

MAPS ARE fascinating things and most of us enjoy browsing over them. Andrew Boyd, in this book and in his *Atlas of World Affairs*, exploits the technique of selectively drawing maps so that they reveal not only the geography, but also the history, of a continent.

This atlas has about 50 maps backed up by a potted history of Africa. Here we can see where the European traders, uninterested in the continent's rich interior, set up their coastal colonies. Here, too, are shown the ancient states of Africa; where in 5,000 B.C. one of the world's first agricultural systems was developed; where in 300 A.D. the Soninke created Ghana, which thrived on the export of slaves and gold to Morocco. The great tribes of modern Ghana claim descent from the inhabitants of the ancient state—hence the revival of the country's name.

The maps show up the growing European interest in the African hinterland and the scramble for colonies in the late nineteenth century. It is easy enough to appreciate the author's contention that Africa's map of frontiers was drawn by Europeans, whose rule lasted for a bare seventy years.

But Africa is more than a bloody history of slavers and colonisers. It is a dark, brooding continent with enormous wealth and great natural barriers of desert and jungle and disease. These are the physical conditions in which the natives and the colonisers must go about their business and which has such a definite effect on that business. The *Atlas* does not forget this.

A small book, but full of interest and information.

IVAN.

As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question. Engels, *The Housing Question*.





June 1912

## INDUSTRIAL UNREST

An interesting debate took place recently in Parliament, in which Liberals, Tories, and Labour members took part—albeit it was somewhat confused. The subject under discussion was the industrial unrest and the disappointing tone of the King's Speech. Mr. J. Ramsey Macdonald started the ball rolling by moving an amendment regretting "that having regard to the existing industrial unrest arising from a deplorable insufficiency of wages which has persisted notwithstanding a great expansion of national wealth, and a considerable increase in the cost of living, your Majesty's gracious speech contains no specific mention of legislation securing a minimum living wage and for preventing a continuance of such unequal division of the fruits of industry by the nationalisation of the railways, mines and other monopolies."

After various contributions to the discussion, such as profit-sharing, nationalisation, minimum wage, and all the resuscitated "remedies," Lord Hugh Cecil (Tory) submitted the following comments:—

"If the Opposition could not agree to the remedies proposed by Labour members it was not because they were indifferent to the sorrows and sufferings of the working people. Low wages were the result of competition, and the nationalisation of industries would not remove competition but merely shift the arena. People were paid not what they deserved, but they got what the rarely and desirability of what they had to sell would bring them."

Mr. J. M. Robertson (Board of Trade) "questioned whether the nationalisation of railways would put an end to Labour unrest or would provide more adequate remuneration," pointing out that in countries whose railways were nationalised there was considerable unrest.

Thus proving that at bottom the representatives of the master class understand the economic position of the workers, and that in certain circumstances they are betrayed into giving expression to that knowledge.

From the  
SOCIALIST STANDARD, June 1912.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Government

Dear Friend,

For a number of years I have read with great interest your publication. My Father is a subscriber and he passes them on to me. Your principles are to me quite logical, therefore I agree wholeheartedly with them, for years before I had ever heard of Socialism I thought along the same lines, which makes me believe that the majority of working men think the same.

But I have a question to ask. How will the working-class become emancipated to such an extent that they can for all time control their own destiny? Without violence? With education? If it is with education, how can one educate the capitalist class to embrace this idealism when they are happy at the top of the heap?

I'm very interested to find out exactly how this change over could be brought about, how too would a community as large as say Europe govern itself. Would it have a board of Elders as advisers or perhaps some other way. Indoctrinated as I am with the idea of leadership, where would the over-all directive come from. In other words how will socialism work day by day in practice.

These are some of the questions I am stumped with when a discussion crops up. I've read your booklets on Socialism and War, Socialism and the colour/race bar, in fact all of them, but cannot find the answer to my questions of *Socialism in Practice*. I would ask you to describe step by step the approach to complete Socialism, if this is possible of course. You have the advantage of clear-thinking, all issues are in perspective with you in your discussions, but alone I reach a point where I cannot for the life of me continue to think on logical lines.

This particular issue is the one which comes in for most derision from the critics who say "It's all very well in theory". But what about in practice.

Thanking you in anticipation, Sincerely,

Barrow-in-Furness JAMES WORKMAN

### MR. HAWTREE

It is with regret that we learn of the sudden death of Mr. Hawtree of R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. For many, many years he has closely co-operated with us in getting out the Socialist Standard every month. Always exceedingly helpful, he will be sorely missed. To his family and colleagues we express our deep sympathy.

## REPLY

Society is controlled through Parliament where power rests. The workers form the vast majority of the population, and it is mainly through their votes that members of Parliament are elected. When the workers accept the socialist outlook they will vote delegates to Parliament to take control on their behalf. The capitalists will have to accept what happens, regardless of their views, because they will have lost the power to resist it. Thus there will be no need for violence.

Once the workers have obtained control of Parliament they will proceed to organise society on a socialist basis. The capitalists will be unable to prevent this. They will have lost both their economic basis and their political control. Therefore they can only do as previous controlling classes had to do; fall in line with the organisation of the new system.

Socialism is international. Therefore the new system will be a world system. There would not be any government or leaders required. There are organisations in existence at present which attend to purely technical matters on an international scale, which can give you an idea of future procedure. Here is a list of a few of them.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) continually reviews the food and agricultural conditions in the world and supplies governments with facts and figures relating to nutrition, agriculture, forestry and fisheries; with appraisals and forecasts in relation to the production, distribution and consumption of agricultural products. It also makes recommendations on the improvement of education and administration relating to the fields in which it works.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) has as its object "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health".

The International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) assists Civil Aviation by encouraging the use of safety measures, uniform regulations for operation, and promotes the use of new technical methods and equipment.

The Universal Postal Union (UPU) aims at assuring the organisation and perfection of the various postal services and promotes, in this field, the development of international collaboration. To this end, the members of the UPU are united in a single postal territory for reciprocal exchange of correspondence. That is why it is so easy to send letters to Los Angeles, Valparaiso, Cape Town, Delhi, Tokyo and Melbourne.

The World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) sets out to promote international co-operation in the field of meteorology and the quick exchange of weather data, to establish world-wide networks of meteorological stations and facilitate the publication and standardisation of their observations, to further the application of meteorology to human activities, and to encourage research and training in the field of meteorology. In conjunction with Radio and coastguard stations it gives warning of gales, and enables ships in distress, regard-

less of nationality, to have assistance sent to them.

These are just some of the purely technical organisations that collect and distribute facts and general information, and there are many others, less known, in other fields. These technical organisations work at present under capitalist conditions, where the profit motive limits to some extent the value of their work. But when Socialism comes into operation such organisations will be free to work to the fullness of their powers, without having to how to the interests of property. In the future there will be nothing to hinder the work of people who are delegated to central bodies in different areas, and to world central bodies, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information to enable society to produce and distribute what will be required to satisfy the needs of all. There

will be only one interest to serve, the interests of the whole of the world's population.

Our own organisation, on a very small scale, is an example of the kind of thing that will come into operation. We depute members to do various jobs, including an Executive Committee to carry out the Party's instructions. No one would gain by failing to do the job deputed to him, and the better he does it the better for all the members, including himself. That is the spirit which will actuate all those in a socialist society, but a spirit that, in general cannot operate unhindered in a class society where some can gain by wielding domination over their fellows. And, incidentally, in socialist society the better a man does a job the more he will be appreciated by his fellows, but he will have no power of any kind, nor will he be treated as a "leader".

The technical organisations we have mentioned are manned by members of the working class who will become socialists in the same way as other members of the working class, by acquiring socialist knowledge. When we are on the brink of Socialism they will know what will be required of them and act accordingly—gather and impart the information necessary to enable the change over from Capitalism to Socialism to be accomplished as smoothly as possible. Obviously it will take a little time for the new society to get properly on its feet and settle down, but this will only be a question of solving technical difficulties. The working class that inaugurates Socialism will be quite aware of this, but the multitude of problems that afflict a class society will no longer exist.

GILMAC

## SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

### Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept  
52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4

6 Issues 4/- post free

12 Issues 8/- post free

Send me

Socialist Standard  
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

### BRANCH NEWS from page 96

seen and experienced to be fully appreciated. For their meetings they produce all their own posters, and chose their sites carefully; in fact we saw many posters advertising Gilmac's meeting of some months ago still intact and legible. In conclusion, to any London comrades feeling dispirited with the struggle, we would say "Go North Young man for the week-end." Comrade Corry spoke at both the outdoor meetings.

**Hyde Park.** Although the weather was certainly not at its best, London comrades rallied to Hyde Park for the May 6th meeting. This was well supported and good literature sales were made. As there was no evening indoor meeting (one having been held on May 1st) the meeting carried on longer than usual.

**Nottingham.** Meetings were held throughout the day at Slab Square. The audiences were not large, although in the evening after the noise of hands and singing by other factions had ended, the comrades were able to hold an interesting meeting. Throughout the day, members of the Branch and from London were selling literature. As this was the first propaganda meeting this season it is hoped that it has sparked off the outdoor meetings. If comrades from London and elsewhere can make occasional trips to support the Nottingham members, it should help them carry on the good work previously done in this town. Apart from the London members, others came quite long distances to support the May Day Rally.

At Bristol (Durdham Downs) and Swansea, as well as Belfast, meetings were also held and the Party members in these towns, although few in number, are working very hard to spread the Socialist message.

**Coventry Group** were unable to hold a May Day Rally, but its members, determined to make some extra protest against capitalism, decided to "cover" the Labour Party meeting. Quite a bit of heckling took

place and the comrades sold 20 copies of the May SOCIALIST STANDARD in addition to some pamphlets. As the secretary of the Group commented: "A pleasing evening's Socialist propaganda work." More good news about Coventry activities next month.

The **Annual Conference** got off to a good start on Friday, April 20th and by Sunday afternoon the Agenda had been completed and many good debates had taken place. The Social on Saturday was well attended. The Sunday evening Party Rally was also successful, on the platform Comrades Montague (Ireland), Donnelly (Scotland) and Joyce Millen (London).

Also at Easter week-end, the Paddington Branch organised their literature sales drive in connection with the **Aldermaston March**. Forty comrades supported the venture including Party members from Ireland, one from South Africa, together with provincial comrades. 9,500 leaflets were distributed, 426 SOCIALIST STANDARDS, 125 war pamphlets, and other literature was sold despite the fact that it was more difficult this year as the march did not go to Trafalgar Square and all the work had to be done whilst the March was in progress.

Rather than shorten two stimulating reports—one from British Columbia on activities there, and another from New Zealand, where Party members are having success with tape recordings of lectures—it is hoped to give full details in next month's SOCIALIST STANDARD.

By and large, it is obvious that the work of comrades over the years, throughout the SPGB and Companion Parties, is bearing fruit and it cannot fail to stimulate greater efforts and thereby bring Socialism nearer fruition.

A pleasing postscript. We have received the sum of £100 from a comrade who wishes to remain anonymous. Whilst respecting his wish, we feel that this generous donation should at least be recorded with our appreciation.

P. H.





## Branch News

Branch news usually means what it says, but this month we are happy to include so much news of Socialist activity throughout April and May concerning England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, New Zealand and Canada that to give the full reports of activities the whole of the Standard could well be used. Nevertheless, although it is greatly condensed, it is with pleasure that we report on the splendid work done by comrades during the past two months.

**Glasgow.** Municipal Election results, Pre-election outdoor and indoor meetings to audiences of from 20 to 100: Literature sales—30s. Collections, £2 10s. 0d. (at April 30th meeting at Woodside Halls). Literature canvassing—Over 700 SOCIALIST STANDARDS (February, March and April). Pamphlets—6s. 8d. Total sales—£17 18s. 2d. 8,000 Election Manifestos distributed also 1,500 "Introducing the S.P.G.B." leaflets.

**Publicity:** the most spectacular effort in this direction was Comrade Mulheron's appearance on the Scottish Television programme—"Here and Now". This was a programme which dealt with the North Kelvin Election and interviews with all six parties. Regretfully the interview was brief, but our spokesman crammed as much as possible into the few seconds allowed him. Although the propaganda value of this very brief appearance was perhaps not very great, it at least sets the precedent for future appearances.

There was very little Press publicity apart from many mentions that the SPGB was one of the six contesting parties. But the *Scottish Daily Express* did consider that they considered the Party a "far left group".

**Polling:** 76 votes were registered. Members of the Glasgow Branch summed up as follows: "We consider this, our first effort at a Municipal Election in Glasgow, a success from two standpoints:—

(1) The experience gained of organising meetings in the area, distributing Manifestos and literature, and of the legal set-up at election time.

(2) The amount of literature sold, the valuable opportunity of getting our case over to the workers, and the prestige gained for the Party in Glasgow.

We see no reason why we should not contest more and more elections in Glasgow in the future, with, we are sure, greater success in the light of this experience".

**World Socialist Party of Ireland.** Much activity is afoot in Belfast where for the first time the Party is contesting the forthcoming National election in the Pottinger constituency of Belfast. Like the Glasgow comrades (except that as yet there are not so many of them), the Belfast comrades are extremely energetic and enterprising and they are planning their election campaign with vigour and foresight. We all wish them every success. Whatever help can be given from London certainly will be forthcoming.

**May Day Rallies.** The first to be reported is the London meeting held on Tuesday, May 1st at Caxton Hall, Westminster. An audience of over 150 listened with interest to Comrades D'Arcy and Fahy who spoke on the implications of May Day and Socialism and answered questions followed by discussion for the second half of the meeting. A collection of £26 15s. 0d. was taken and literature sales were particularly good. It was pleasing that the Party, for the first time for many years, was able to hold a meeting on May 1st. It is hoped that this will be a precedent for future years.

**Glasgow.** Comrades Fahy and Corry travelled to Glasgow on Saturday, May 5th fully able and willing to assist the Glasgow Comrades in their May Day propaganda meetings. They joined the Glasgow comrades in Exchange Square (first meeting at this station this year) and by 3 pm they were well away with the meeting, which lasted until 5.30 pm. Many comrades travelled long distances to give support to the meeting.

The terminus for the May Day procession on the Sunday was at Queen's Park, but only the "official" Labour Party meeting was permitted there. The SPGB outdoor meeting was held in the Recreation Ground. The ILP with loud speaker and lorry etc. had little support and after half an hour they succumbed and the SPGB carried on until 5.30 pm. Literature figures for this outdoor meeting are not available at the moment, but a 30s. collection was taken. All this was a prelude to the indoor meeting at the Cosmo Cinema. The audience numbered 170, and £18 was collected. Comrade Fahy was somewhat abashed, after speaking for some time, when he suggested that questions from the audience were in order, only to find a couple of minutes go by without a question. He need not have worried. Before he could dwell much on the situation (wondering whether he had converted them to Socialism or whether he had failed to make the case clear) he was asked question upon question and found himself racing against time to clarify all points that were raised before the meeting had to end.

To quote Comrade Fahy, "For us this was a memorable occasion. The enthusiasm, drive and energy of the Glasgow comrades, not to mention their hospitality have to be

(continued page 95.)

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

## Meetings

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, SE6.  
Mondays, 8.15 pm.

June 18th.

### MUSIC

Speaker: I. Jones.

June 25th.

### EVOLUTION OF SOCCER

Speaker: Edge.

July 9th.

### SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA?

Speaker: R. Stare.

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesdays, 9 pm.

June 13th.

### THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Speaker: Michael.

June 27th.

### SOCIALISM & HUMAN NATURE

Speaker: D. McCarthy.

July 4th.

### FILM SHOW

July 18th.

### BATTLE FOR THE MIND

Speaker: J. Keyes.

### EALING MEETINGS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road [3 minutes from Ealing Broadway Station].  
Fridays, 8 pm

### NOTTINGHAM MEETINGS

Sundays,  
Old Market Square, 7 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

West Regent Street, 7.30 pm.

#### Saturdays

Exchange Square, 3 pm.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth.

June 3rd (1 pm)

June 10th & 24th (noon)

June 17th (11 pm)

Clapham Common, 3 pm

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm

Hyde Park, 8.30 pm

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm



# **SOCIALIST STANDARD**

---

page 99

## **THE GHOST WALKS AGAIN**

Our capitalists have seen a ghost, a ghost they had thought banished for ever, the ghost of 1929. It showed itself only for a moment, just long enough to revive terrible memories and turn optimism and complacency into fear and uncertainty.

page 107

## **JOHN LEWIS PARTNERS**

The John Lewis Partnership replies to our criticism, to which we answer.

page 103

## **RUSSIA AND WORLD TRADE**

Russian Industry is becoming more and more interested in finding foreign markets for its products, from ships and motor cars to oil, and from timber to diamonds.

page 104

## **CARIBBEAN CAPITALISM**

The background to the growth of capitalism in the West Indies.



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (5th & 19th July) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 6th July at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 8EX 1950) and 20th July at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (9th July) in month 7.30 pm, 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** 1st Wednesday in month. For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (2nd and 16th July) 7.30 pm, The Luncheon Room, Craven Arms (ground floor), High Street. Enquiries: P. Boylan, 60 Alma Street, of Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (11th July) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W1 (corner Homer St., near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (July 9th and 23rd) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th July) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th and 26th July) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road School, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th July) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham. Meeting resuming in September.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

New Reprint of

# ART, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

by WILLIAM MORRIS

with a modern reassessment by  
the Socialist Party

First published by the SPGB in 1907

ORDER FROM SPGB PRICE 1/- (POST 3d EXTRA)

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . . 100  
Wall Street Slump  
Liberal Party promises  
End of Eichmann  
Coal Profits

THE GOVERNMENT'S REVERSES 101

THE UNHAPPY RICH . . . . . 102

RUSSIA AND WORLD TRADE . 103

SQUARING THE CIRCLE . . . 103

CAPITALISM IN THE CARRIBBEAN 104

LETTER FROM EDINBURGH . 105

THE PASSING SHOW . . . . . 106

'JOHN LEWIS' REPLIES . . . 107

THE EXPERTS ARE FALLIBLE . 109

PRICES IN THE NEWS . . . . 110

JOIN THE CCD . . . . . 111

BRANCH NEWS . . . . . 112

MEETINGS . . . . . 112

## The ghost walks again

OUR CAPITALISTS have seen a ghost, a ghost they had thought banished for ever, the ghost of 1929. It showed itself only for a moment, just long enough to revive terrible memories and turn optimism and complacency into fear and uncertainty.

The Chairman of the London Stock Exchange, with true British stolidity, denied that there was anything like panic. But the Americans have not been nearly so reticent and are quite ready to admit that at one stage on that horrible Monday only a hairsbreadth separated them from panic. Not for years were there such scenes on Wall Street, the ticker tape falling behind by 34 minutes at one point with prices dropping catastrophically. Although according to a correspondent of the *Economist* there was a wider price swing in 1955 when President Eisenhower had his heart attack, never since 1933 had so many small investors tried to get out of the market all at once.

The economic experts, so-called, have naturally been hard at work telling us all about it. The hacks were in right away discounting fears that it might be another 1929 and doing their best to keep up flagging spirits. Some of them were even describing the next day's partial recovery as a boom. More sober assessments were being made by the end of the week, though they did not add much more to our knowledge than the wilder fancies earlier. Some blamed the crash on the small investor, others on President Kennedy's recent harsh line with the U.S. steel companies, others comforted themselves with the thought that it had given a much needed shake-out to the market and that things would be healthier for it. But, even more than usual, none of them seemed willing or anxious to commit reputations to anything more than vague speculation.

It is, of course, the easiest thing in the world to read too much into stock market fluctuations. A fall in share prices, even a violent one, is in itself no indicator of a slump. The 1929 depression is superficially remembered by the Wall Street crash, but it was not caused by this. The crash was only the dramatic culmination of complicated economic forces that had been working themselves out for some time before. Thus the recent events on the world's stock exchanges do not add up to a slump nor do they indicate necessarily that one is on the way. They are essentially the reflection of the present economic state of world Capitalism, in particular of American Capitalism.

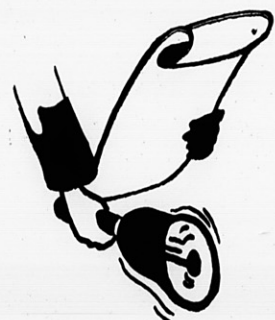
After seventeen years of comparative prosperity, brought about largely by the need to make good the destruction of war and by the huge expenditure on preparations for another, the momentum is now slowing down. Goods are getting harder to sell, profit margins are having to be cut, and many industries are working well below capacity. The confident assumption that things were automatically going to get better was in fact already being questioned before the recent big break. It should not be forgotten that there had been a similar severe fall on Wall Street only a few weeks before and that the share price index had been dropping steadily for some months before then. It is against this background that we must look for the significance of the crash.

Although basically reflecting the economic forces of Capitalism, the stock exchanges can, of course, react upon those forces in turn. It is almost certain, for example, that the recent shock has put paid to the belief of the Capitalists that prosperity was going to go on and on. On the other hand, it could just as easily convince them that things are actually going to get worse and thus help tilt the downward trend into a real slump.

The really interesting thing is to see the reactions of the Capitalist class and their advisers to the crash. In spite of all the talk about how Capitalism can be controlled, about how much has been learned about its workings since 1929, about Keynesian planning and the rest of it, they have been really shocked and frightened. They have seen a ghost they thought they had theorised into disappearing.

And they are not at all sure that their theories will be enough to prevent it coming back again.





## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### Wall Street slump

Wall Street got the twitch last month and so did London and the Bourses on the Continent. The newspapers rushed out pictures of the panic in 1929 and then had to set their City Editors to work to explain why 1929 cannot after all happen again.

Everybody seemed to have forgotten that just before 1929 the financial experts were assuring us that the crash which was in fact just around the corner could never happen anyway. If this does not make the experts of 1929 look very impressive in retrospect, it must also teach us that the forecasts of all capitalism's economic experts are not worth very much.

Nowadays the experts are fond of pointing out the precautions which (they are confident) would prevent a runaway boom like the one which preceded the 1929 crash and therefore (they reason) would also prevent the crash itself.

This ignores the fact that slumps are not the result of an attack of jitters on the Stock Exchange; rather it is the other way round. Nineteen-twenty-nine was one of capitalism's classic crises and no amount of stock juggling could have averted it.

Nor should we assume that hotheaded speculation is dead. *The Observer* correspondent in New York reported that the "intellectuals" of Wall Street thought that: "By the end of last year the market had reached heights that brokers now, without blushing, describe as insane." and quoted one New York broker:

"The way some of (the big brokers) have been pushing over-priced stocks at naive investors is nothing short of criminal."

Perhaps a repeat of 1929 is not so impossible after all. For some of the experts were mystified by Wall Street's 1962 twitch. *The Guardian* said: "The continuing retreat is puzzling commentators in that there seems to be no apparent reason for it. Mr. Walter Heller, President Kennedy's economic adviser, said there were no economic grounds for the condition of the market." Does this fill us with confidence that capitalism's economists could not be taken unawares by a

repeat of 1929? It does not.

Capitalism could have something up its sleeve, just as it had thirty-three years ago, to surprise the experts and impoverish the rest of us.

### Liberal Party promises

Nobody can accuse the Tories of not being worried about the Liberal revival. Faced with the fact that some of the electorate undoubtedly find the Liberal Party attractive, the Conservatives have set out to prove that the very allure of Liberal policy lies in its irresponsibility.

This is being done in the time-honoured way of accusing the Liberals of pushing vote-catching policies without also mentioning that they would increase taxes to finance them. Mr. Iain Macleod has estimated that full application of the Liberal policy would put another eleven shillings on income tax. Most workers are convinced that they are the people who pay taxes; to them, the prospect of a standard income tax rate of 18/9d. in the pound must have seemed like black nightmare.

To back up his case, Mr. Macleod had his research boys dig out some choice examples of Liberal promise-mongering. He quoted Liberal policies for spending more on roads and education, for increasing pensions, repaying post-war credits and much more besides. The Liberals claimed that Macleod's quotes were taken out of context.

Yet in one way Macleod had a point, even if he did not know that he was making it. All capitalist political parties have to make a lot of attractive promises and boast that they can do things which they know are beyond their abilities. The Tories, for example, said in 1951 that they would stop prices rising.

Such promises can be effective vote-catchers. The one snag is that a party which is liable to be returned to power cannot make its promises too extravagant, because that would only make their betrayal that much more obvious. On the other hand, the more remote from

power a party is, the more reckless its promises can be. The Liberals have little immediate prospect of becoming the government of British capitalism.

We may be sure that if the Liberal revival really gets under way their promises will become dimmer and more sober as the votes mount up. And if they ever get into power again most of the promises will disappear. Grimond and his men would run British capitalism in roughly the same way as the parties they now decry.

### End of Eichmann?

No time was wasted, after the Israeli President had written the quotation from the Bible across the petition for reprieve, in sending Adolf Eichmann to his death and scattering his ashes into the sea.

Why was Eichmann executed? For revenge? One man cannot adequately expiate the murder of six million people; a split-second execution is hardly revenge for the years of pitiless concentration camp horrors.

Perhaps nearer the mark were those observers who think that the whole thing—the abduction, the trial, the execution—was meant to establish Israel as a political reality among the other capitalist nations. Political acts in themselves do have significance and for Israel to put to death the man who organised the extermination of the Jews is significant indeed.

Israel has asserted her power—even if, in terms of capitalist legality, she had little right—to bring the Jews' tormentors to book.

But what else has Israel done?

Perhaps she has made a martyr of the clerk-like Eichmann. Racial theories still live in capitalism's jungle; the execution of Eichmann could be the grain of sand around which they crystallise and flourish.

There is no easy explanation of the Eichmanns of the thirties and forties; Nazi Germany will remain a horrifying enigma for a long time to come. But we can say that part, at any rate, of the reason for the electoral success of the Nazis was the crisis of German capitalism after 1918 and the despair and cynicism which this bred in the minds of the German

working class. In this mood, they would have supported anyone who sounded as if he had the answer to their problems. And Hitler, with his race mania, sounded like that to them.

Capitalism is always liable to convulsion and in any case it will never stop looking for scapegoats for its own shortcomings. This means that racial hatred is still with us and that even the madness of the Nazis need not be very far away.

The world may not have seen the last of its Adolf Eichmanns.

### Coal profits

The nationalised coal mines made £28.7 million operating profit last year. If the Coal Board were a normal commercial company, said chairman Lord

Robens when he announced these figures, it would be paying a dividend of 2½% from its profits.

But the coal mines are not, of course, a normal concern. The N.C.B. is liable to pay out on fixed interest stock and loans, which means that its dividend payments bear no relation to its working profit.

Last year the N.C.B.'s interest payments came to £42.4 million, which turned its working profit into an accounting deficit of £13.7 million.

There are three things to be said about this.

Firstly, nationalising the coal mines was obviously a good move from the point of view of those who get the £42.4 million interest from a profit of only £28.7 million; much more than they

would have got from Lord Robens' two-and-a-half per cent!

Secondly, the fact that millions of pounds profit is being wrung from the coal mines is proof—if anymore were needed—that nationalisation does not alter the capitalist nature of society. For profit, in private or state industry, can only come from the exploitation of workers in the industry.

Which brings us to the third, conclusive point. Many workers in this country were misled into supporting nationalisation because they thought it had something to do with common ownership. The figures which the National Coal Board has produced, and those which the other nationalised industries turn out year by year, show up that it was nothing of the kind.

### BY-ELECTIONS

## The Government's reverses

THAT WAS AN interesting flurry of by-elections. Now that the votes have been counted, the shouting has died and the government are left with some nasty wounds to lick, it is time for the summing up. Not, mark you, in the sense that the political correspondent of the Daily This or the Sunday That has summed up. They can tell us efficiently enough why one candidate beat another, and what effect this might have upon the government. There is need, now, for a different perspective to be put on these matters. What are the by-elections worth? Will they change anything?

The government are certainly in difficulties although there is of course nothing unusual in that. Have we ever known a government which has not run into squalls in its attempts to organise capitalism? Even so, at least one of the present problems is in some ways unique. We refer, of course, to the Common Market negotiations, which face the British capitalist class with their most agonising decision for a long time. The gamble they took years ago, that the European Economic Community would not become a viable enough organisation to cast doubt on the value of the Commonwealth Preference system, has not come off. This has left the British ruling class in the humiliating situation of having to bargain away some of their cherished advantages for a chance at the European market—provided they can also break the stony resistance of de Gaulle.

Should they abandon New Zealand to its fate in the world meat and dairy

market? Can they persuade the six in Europe to let them keep the protective tariffs for some Commonwealth products and still take advantage of the Common Market? These problems are such that the Empire builders in the palmy days of Victoria never thought to be confronted with. Neither did their modern counterparts in the Conservative Party. That is why the Tories—and the Labour Party, for that matter—are split over the Common Market.

Nor is all well on the home front, where the government are desperately trying to hold a broken line on their wages policy. Keeping wages in check has always been a problem for capitalism's governments, in this country and abroad. For governments are there to run society in the interests of its ruling class, who rule because they own. The ruling class are the people, in one way and another, whom we work for and who pay us our wages. The big problem, for us as well as for them, is that the more we get as wages the less they get as profit. That is why wages are such a persistent cause of dispute to capitalism and why governments have to try to hold them down. Since the war, with employment at a high level, the pressure has been for wages to go up. And since the war, from Cripps' freeze to Lloyd's pause and guiding light, governments have tried to keep them in check.

The Tories have presented their wages policy as sober and responsible and have damned anybody who runs counter to it as the blackest of black sheep. Mr. Macmillan told the last Conservative

women's conference:

Some employers, selfishly secure in the knowledge that they can recoup themselves from higher prices at home, may give in too easily to unreasonable demands. Some unions, arrogant with organised power, will try to grab too large a slice of the cake.

This, and the other speeches in the same style, may have impressed the well-hatted Tory women but its effect upon, say, the dockers and the nurses (who, said the Prime Minister, should have a large and immediate increase—"If we could be guided solely by our hearts") and the other workers in the pay queue was probably negligible.

Because workers, whether they are "respectable" civil servants or less "respectable" dockers, and whether they are called selfish and arrogant or any other name, will always struggle to improve their wages. They cannot get away from it; the relationship of worker to employer which pervades capitalist society sees to that. While capitalism lasts, there will always be a class struggle over wages and other conditions of employment.

But if the Common Market and wages are two of the government's worries, can we say that they had any influence on the by-elections? Do workers weigh up such matters and cast their vote accordingly? If they do, there must be a crushing majority in this country in favour of the Common Market, to judge from the lost deposit of the anti-Common Market candidate in Derbyshire West. And if the workers do weigh up the issues involved

★ QUESTIONS OF THE  
DAY (1/3 post paid)



in an election, how thoroughly do they do so? They apparently missed the fact that the post war Labour government, despite its professions to having human interests at heart, started the British hydrogen bomb programme and took this country into the Korean war, which might at one stage have exploded into a world conflict. Whatever the reasons for the Labour Party's defeat in 1951, its zeal for prosecuting capitalism's wars was not amongst them.

Similarly, the Conservative Party is kept in power by the ignorant docility of the working class. The Tories do not see their votes decline as a result of their being the men who gambled with world war in their Suez adventure. They do not lose M.P.'s because they are the government in charge of the British bomb tests, which play their part in poisoning the atmosphere in the search for an all-powerful weapon of destruction. It the Tories do suffer a decline, as they did in 1957 and 1958, it is not for these reasons and they can soon come bouncing back into favour and into an even more secure majority, as they did in 1959.

Why, then, are the votes at present running against the government? The people who profess to know—the newspapers' political correspondents—have their theories. *The Guardian* thinks that it can be put down to "impatience" (they are impatient with the government themselves); *The Economist* has spoken of ineffective public relations; another observer has said the electorate are "bored" with the government. If these reasons have any substance, it would be nice to know why the electoral mood can change so easily. Were the workers bored and impatient in 1958 but patiently

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

interested enough in 1959 to put in an overwhelming Tory vote? And why, basically, are they bored and impatient?

The truth is that workers vote for capitalism, whether it is capitalism organised by a Labour or a Conservative government. These governments can often be made to look foolish and impotent by the caprices of the very social system they are trying to run. The Attlee government *did* look foolish over the 1947 fuel crisis and over potato rationing. The Tories are impotent to control the opposing pressures of wage claims and the temptation to inflate the currency. It is an easy thing to poke fun at a government which is in such difficulties. Yet simply to vote against a government, to switch support from one capitalist party to another, is just as foolish and futile. And worse; because to do this is to fly in the face of all facts, all the evidence, all history, it is a depressingly ignorant thing that the millions of working class voters do at election time.

Yet we do not need to look very hard at the world around us to realise that there is a desperate need for an end to the political ignorance of the workers. Consider, for example, the letter which *The Guardian* published on June 1st. last; a tragically moving letter from a mother whose little girl had died from leukaemia. This mother is convinced that her child's death was caused by radiation from bomb tests and perhaps she is right. Some radiation, we know, is natural but we also know that bomb tests can cause leukaemia and other frightful illnesses. And the men who decide on the bomb tests also know this, of course. The mother wrote bitterly of the world's important statesmen assuring us that the danger from tests is "negligible" and of what the word means. For her, "negligible" risk meant a baby obese from the multitude of drugs which were pumped into her, a baby choking on its own blood in the night and crying for help to a helpless mother.

This is capitalism. The bomb tests go on, regardless of the pain and suffering they cause, because they are necessary to capitalism, and that is what the bored and the impatient and the ignorant vote for. That is the perspective in which we must view the by-elections. The dead child's mother pleads for the major political parties to take notice of what the ordinary people of this country want. But in fact she can only get the sort of world she wants when the ordinary people decide that they will not leave their wants to be interpreted by political leaders, major or minor. It is worth thinking over this one, the next time we have to put those crosses on the ballot papers.

IVAN



## THE UNHAPPY RICH

Replying to Mr. H. G. Wells apropos of his article on "What Labour Wants" (quoted "Daily News" 5.6.12.), Mr. John Ward, M.P. remarks: "I am bound to say that I have never in all my experience met with any evidence of jealousy on the part of the working classes in reference to the employment (!) of the wealthy. All the elaborate pictures of envy, hatred, and uncharitableness are practically the outcome of the imagination. In their special way the working people get as much pleasure out of life as the wealthier classes."

Of course they do! The pleasure is all theirs, John. And believe me, they haven't a bit of thought for the rich. Look what ingratitude they show when the rich come along and offer to share their profits with them, or take them into partnership. It really isn't good enough, John, and I'm glad you've had the courage to speak your mind. Look at the fun they've been having just lately—going on strike, fighting inoffensive bobbies, upsetting the equilibrium of trade, in fact, playing the very devil generally. Of course, it's all a part of their pleasure "in their special way." When they are not having fun of this description I suppose they are busy with motor-cars, their yachting trips, and their racing stables, they quite overlook the cares and responsibilities that the unfortunate rich are compelled to undergo. You see, John, the question of what to do with their income is such a serious one, they haven't time to spare a thought for anyone but themselves.

Selfishness, of course. But the time is coming, John, when the rich will be relieved of their "employment" and its consequent anxieties and responsibilities, and given a rest. In fact, I believe the need for them will be abolished altogether. So you can console yourself, John, with the thought that their woes will soon be over. I can assure you they'll get all that's coming to them.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD  
July 1912.

## Notes on Russia

IN RECENT years there have been many signs that Russian industry is becoming more and more interested in finding foreign markets for its products, from ships and motor cars to oil and from timber to diamonds.

Immediately after the Communists captured power in Russia in 1917 they introduced State control of all foreign trade largely because they feared that German and other exporters would undercut Russian home industries with a flood of cheap goods. It was the aim of the Russian Government to restrict imports to those articles regarded as essential and to pay for them by exporting surpluses produced in home industries. There was at that time no urge to expand trade and in 1938 the volume of foreign trade was only fifty per cent of what it had been before they came to power, though trade was expanding fast in the world as a whole. But by 1959 with the successful building up of great manufacturing industries Russia had come into line with the general expansion of foreign trade, and

her imports and exports had recovered so far that they were half as large again as in 1913 and three times what they had been in 1938.

This change of trend found expression during June of this year at the Conference of the Russian bloc countries in Moscow, which dealt with industrial and trade relations with each other and with the rest of the world. They are reported (*Times* 9 June, 1962) to have "expressed their desire for the further expansion of foreign trade with capitalist countries", and also supporting a call for an international conference to set up a world-wide organisation to promote trade, and remove discriminatory actions by one country against another. Doubtless, from the Russian government's standpoint, the latter proposal is directed against the development of the European Common Market and the possibility of Britain joining it, both of them developments that may threaten Russia's position as expanding exporter in world markets.

## SQUARING THE CIRCLE

ALONGSIDE the development of Russia as a great capitalist trading power it is interesting to look at the attempt made by Stalin a few years before his death to square Russian policy with Marxist principles.

Frederick Engels in his *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific* (1892) had written that with the capture of power and "the seizing of the means of production of society, production of commodities is done away with, and simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer". He also wrote that as a first step "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property."

Someone put the question to Stalin, why was it that years after capturing power the Russian Communist Party still continued commodity production, i.e. production of articles for sale. Stalin,

in his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* (Published in Moscow in 1952) set out to answer the question. He did so by arguing that in the first of the two passages quoted above Engels meant all the means of production, and the Russian Government had in fact taken possession of only some of them, the industrial means of production, but not the agricultural means of production.

This in itself is a hollow excuse as far as Engels is concerned because Engels certainly did not write, or think, that 35 or more years after gaining political power an essential part of the means of production would still not have been taken over.

But Stalin had another and even more curious defence. It was that Engels had had in mind the one country, Britain, in which agriculture had in 1892 been "capitalised" and concentrated; and Stalin then expressed doubt whether

Britain could abolish commodity production, because of its dependence on foreign trade.

Why Stalin's thoughts were concerned with the problem of foreign trade was made clear elsewhere in Stalin's book because he had realised that Russia too was becoming more dependent on foreign trade. He wrote:—

... it will soon come to pass that these countries will not only be in no need of imports from capitalist countries but will themselves feel the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products. (p. 36)

By "these countries" Stalin meant Russia and the other mis-called "socialist" countries.

Though Stalin's tortuous "explanation" may have satisfied his questioner it landed him in the further dilemma that while Engels had seen the capture of power and the ending of commodity production bringing to an end "the mastery of the product over the producer", for Mr. Stalin the producers in Russia and the other countries were increasingly coming under the "necessity" of finding foreign markets for exports, just like the rest of the capitalist world.

The recent big increase of prices of meat and other foods in Russia in order to increase the income of the collective farms and peasants and encourage them to raise output and efficiency of production, shows that the problem of agriculture is still far from being settled. British capitalism solved the problem in 1846 from the standpoint of the industrial capitalists by abolishing the corn laws which protected the landed interest and maintained high food prices. Agriculture was allowed to decline, cheap food was imported from abroad which kept prices (and wages) low and enlarged the profits of the manufacturers and ship-owners. Russia now is in a somewhat similar position since the Russian Government could lower its own food prices if it allowed the importation of cheap food from America and other countries in which agricultural production is more efficient and cheaper. But this of course would involve problems even greater than those faced by British capitalism over a century ago.

To put the matter into perspective from a socialist point of view it need only be added that trade problems are capitalist not socialist. The idea of "socialism in one country" is a false one. In a capitalist world there can only be capitalist economy, with its associated need for commodity production and foreign markets. Socialism is an international concept and in that framework such problems do not exist.

11



## part 2



## CAPITALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

THE ECONOMY of the West Indies underwent a transformation following the abolition of slavery—from a primitive form of capitalism with many feudal features to full capitalism based on wage labour.

With the loss of its tied labour force, the plantation system of agriculture broke down, and the sugar owners faced quick ruin. It was to prevent this sudden loss of their labourers that the sugar plantocracy in many islands introduced a transitory state between slavery and wage-labour—"apprenticeship". Under slavery, of course, no wages were paid, the slave being kept by his owner and encouraged to grow his own food. Until the sugar owners could buy the labour-power of the "free" workers the ex-slaves were "apprenticed" to the estates. They had to work for their former owners for about three-quarters of the week without pay, and from their earnings for the remaining quarter they were able to buy their "freedom" when their apprenticeship ended.

In their efforts to reduce the cost of producing the sugar the owners were forced to introduce labour-saving machines; this became even more necessary in face of competition from sugar planters in other parts of the world, notably the East Indies and the U.S.A., and the introduction of beet-sugar farming in Europe and the U.S.A. To make matters worse for the West Indian sugar owners the British Government drastically cut the subsidy which it had long paid for West Indian sugar when it became apparent that cheaper sources of sugar were available elsewhere. In addition, West Indian cotton and tobacco were virtually eliminated from the world's markets during the middle of the nineteenth century by improved farming in the southern states of America and Eli Whitney's cotton saw-gin.

To combat the twin capitalist problems of the rising cost of labour-power and the falling price of sugar, the West Indian sugar owners were forced to re-organise their industry; apart from introducing mechanisation, absentee ownership was discouraged, immigration (especially of European skilled artisans) encouraged, and serious attempts were made to build

up an adequate, dependable, labour force.

In the islands with a long history of slavery, like Barbados, Antigua, and St. Kitts, there was an adequate supply of labour-power but in fast developing countries with little history of slavery (especially Trinidad and British Guiana) the shortage of labourers was acute. To these two countries, therefore, came regular shiploads of peasants from Madeira and India—indentured labourers who signed contracts or bonds to work on the estates as "free" workers. The workers from Madeira did not measure up to the exacting working conditions on the sugar estates in the tropics, but the Indians were quite at home. These "East Indians" were largely responsible for the agricultural wealth of Trinidad and British Guiana, and now number about half the population of Trinidad.

Although sugar-cane farming is the "monoculture" of the West Indies, other agricultural crops in different islands are important sources of profit for sections of the owning class. The (American) United Fruit Co., of which Elders and Fyffes are a subsidiary company, usually takes about half of Jamaica's large banana crop. Citrus fruit, coffee, and cocoa are also grown on a considerable scale in certain islands. Grenadian planters enjoy a virtual monopoly of the spice trade in the West Indies.

Timber was, and is, the main industry in British Honduras. Timber, including hard woods, is also grown in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana. The tourist industry, catering mainly for vacationing Americans, has developed considerably especially in Jamaica and is now a major source of profit for hotel and shop keepers; on the Jamaican north coast prices are quoted first in U.S. dollars. Trinidad is unique among the West Indian territories in having two important mineral deposits. The famous Pitch Lake, discovered in Raleigh's day, is the only source of natural asphalt in the world: despite competition from synthetic pitches produced during the refinery of oil, profits of the Trinidad Lake Asphalt Co. still assure a comfortable income for its shareholders.

In addition, oil was found in Trinidad towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Although production has increased phenomenally since then, Trinidad's contribution towards the world's total oil production is less than half of one per cent; and because of the unsatisfactory geological formation of the oil-bearing layers, the cost of producing oil in Trinidad is among the highest in the world. However, its geographical position plus its stable government gives its oil industry a special importance in the eyes of British and American capitalists. After the second world war, American capitalism entered the Trinidad oil industry by acquiring a large field and the largest refinery. To prevent further American economic invasion, British Petroleum (half-owned by the British Government on behalf of the British capitalist class) recently took over three "independent" oilfields.

The bauxite industry (in Jamaica and British Guiana) is an important recent addition to West Indian capitalism.

As capitalism improved its methods of production in the Caribbean, so also it improved its methods of administration, to control the growing working class and to assure profits for the owners. In British territories, Crown Colony government superseded the inefficient and self-interested rule of the sugar plantocracy. Crown Colony government which has lasted, with few modifications, until the present time of the "wind of change", was largely responsible for the introduction of organised health services, thereby virtually eliminating the two killing diseases cholera and yellow fever and providing a reasonably fit working class. It also built a greatly improved transport system, the British mode of law-making and enforcement and a rudimentary educational system.

The French islands had always been closely tied to France, the colonial assemblies (which were instituted in 1787) being only advisory in character. Following emancipation, attempts to decentralise the islands' administration were abandoned, and Martinique and Guadeloupe became departments of metropolitan France, which they are today.

The development of capitalism in the larger islands of Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico

is inextricably bound up with the interests of United States capitalism: capital investment, trading rights, and military bases for the defence of the Panama Canal.

After abolition in the British islands, the British Government pressed for the end of slavery in Cuba, whose sugar was underselling Jamaican sugar. The United States opposed British intervention, and later took the opportunity to gain firm control of Cuban affairs by a decisive and speedy military victory. The excuse for this was the loss of American property in the Cuban civil war of 1895 and the sinking of the American warship *Maine* in Havana harbour. Although American forces withdrew in 1902, American governors had effectively made Cuba a "friendly" country, and the establishment of the naval base at Guantanamo left no doubts about United States interest in the island.

Despite the oft-stated "principle" of the American State Department in the "self-determination and self-government of small nations", Cuba has never been free of the intervention of American capitalism, political and military. U.S. naval forces were sent to Cuba in 1912 to protect American property during a Negro revolt, and the U.S. marines were sent in 1917 by President Wilson, also "to protect American lives and property". This touching concern for Cuban affairs apparently paid off, because as a result of the boom in sugar after the first world war a greatly increased concentration of wealth fell into the hands of American capitalists.

The growth of Cuban nationalism brought, first, the dictatorial regime of Machado, then in 1933-4 the left-wing government of Batista. With a history

of strong left-wing parties (Cuba is the only country in the Caribbean with a Communist Party of any influence, thought to be a result of Spanish immigration during the 1920's), Cuba was the natural birthplace of Fidel Castro and his followers who seized power in 1958 and have ruled the island since then with all the trappings of a police state.

The Dominican Republic and Haiti have been of minor importance to the United States, both as markets and sources of capital, and any American interference there has been largely because of the island's strategic value. Both states of the island of Hispaniola have developed with dictatorial governments, and are at an uneasy peace with each other. Haiti is economically poor; the country is governed by a mulatto élite and the rest of the population are illiterate Negro peasants. The Dominican Republic, which is largely populated by descendants of Spanish settlers, is richer by virtue of sugar farming and the modest influx of American capital. The dictatorial regime of General Trujillo, which had ruled the country with no pretences of democracy for almost thirty years recently lost its iron control and the Trujillos were deposed. It is still too early to say whether more democratic institutions for ruling the working-class will emerge; in the meantime the country has been "de-Trujillo-ised" to the extent of the capital of Ciudad Trujillo being renamed Santo Domingo, the name given it by Columbus.

After centuries of Spanish rule, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States in 1898 by the Treaty of Paris. America wished to gain control of the island (especially the fort of San Juan), not so much for her own use, but to prevent

this strategic outpost falling into the hands of rival imperialist gangs. The sugar industry in Puerto Rico attracted American capital, and within a few years three or four American Corporations gained control of the industry and acquired more than half of the land suitable for cane growing. Although nominally American citizens, Puerto Rican workers soon discovered that, despite housing schemes, improved medical services, etc., they extracted little benefit from possessing American passports. It has been estimated that the average *per capita* income in Puerto Rico is less than one-fourth of that in the United States. In an attempt to relieve unemployment, the Puerto Rican government has encouraged emigration to the U.S.A., where, especially in New York, Puerto Rican immigrants meet similar problems that West Indian immigrants encounter in Great Britain.

No account of American capitalism's interference in the Caribbean would be complete without reference to the military bases in various West Indian islands granted to the United States during the early stages of World War Two by the British Government in return for fifty-odd old destroyers. The destroyers have all gone (some were reported to have sunk on their first Atlantic crossing), but the bases remain. They are a constant source of annoyance to West Indian politicians, especially Dr. Eric Williams, Premier of Trinidad and Tobago, who has apparently dedicated himself to the task of wresting the naval base of Chaguaramas in north-west Trinidad from the American Government.

M.I.

(To be concluded)

## Letter from Edinburgh

Edinburgh is a city with a population of about half a million. A few of these are very rich but, just like in all other cities in the Capitalist world, most of them are poor.

Edinburgh attracts many visitors from all over the world. They stroll along the mile-long Princes Street, staring at its famous buildings, gardens and floral clock. There, too, stands the Walter Scott monument. Looming over it all is the Castle, from which the visitor can admire the surrounding hills, can look over the Firth of Forth and can see the art galleries on the Mound which have given Edinburgh the name of the Modern Athens.

There is a great tradition of learning and letters in the city. In 1727 Alexander Munro was installed as Edinburgh's first professor of anatomy and laid the foundations for what is now a thriving university. Alan Ramsay the elder (1686-1758), whose monument overlooks the floral clock, was the pioneer of the revival of literature in Scotland. Ramsay was a wigmaker in the High Street; he joined the Jacobite Essay Club and became its Post Laureate about 1717. Desiring to render service to the inside of his customers' heads as well as the outside, he converted his wigshop into a bookstall. Both Walter Scott and Robert Burns acknowledged

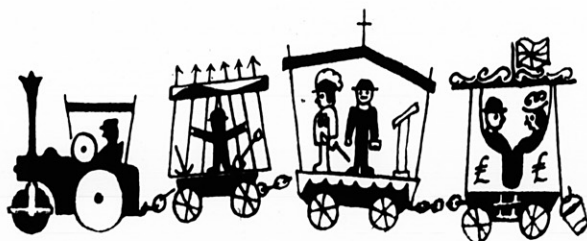
the fact that they owed a lot to Ramsay, whom they had taken as their model.

But this is no take-off of a gaudy travel brochure. The Socialist Party of Great Britain is in Edinburgh too, making its voice heard in this centre of learning. Many visitors from abroad listen to our speakers on the Mound and are impressed by the Socialist's scientific case. Here are expounded the theories of historical materialism and scientific Socialism which Karl Marx and Frederick Engels first formulated over a century ago.

Before man can pursue the studies of politics, philosophy, science and art for which Edinburgh is famous, he must first of all eat and drink and have clothing and shelter: he must, therefore, first of all work. It is with this fact—and others—that our Socialist speakers are illuminating the minds of their listeners in the Modern Athens north of the Border.

DAVID LAMOND.





### Agitators

It has been an accepted ruling-class myth for a long time now that strikes are caused by people called agitators. Whenever industrial trouble breaks out, the management's bloodhounds set out to track down "the agitators", the sinister background figures who are at the bottom of it all. The papers try to convince us that the workers concerned are perfectly happy with whatever wages and conditions the management sees fit to grant them, and that they would work away at their benches making ever greater profits for their masters without a single complaint—were it not for "the agitators". This must be one of the least convincing theories ever produced, even by a ruling class. It received another severe blow recently, at Ford's Dagenham works. Here, as at many other factories, these powerful agitators who bring the men out on strike when they don't really want to stop work are usually identified as the shop stewards. At the end of May the Ford Motor Company rejected outright a pay claim, not offering even sixpence a week more. So the shop stewards, "the agitators", called a one-day token strike in protest. But the men simply turned down this proposal, and continued work.

### With the band in front

This underlined still further the obvious fact that workers come out on strike when they want to come out on strike, and not merely at the behest of agitators. No agitator in the world could make men strike if they didn't want to. Shop stewards, men who serve on strike committees, and so on, simply march with the band in front. Children love to run to the head of processions, and march in front of them, to pretend that they are the leaders. But if the band turns off down a side street, the "leader" has to go with it or be left marching on his own, a general without an army. And there is no sadder sight than that.

### All day and every day

We are often treated in the press to learned articles about "the real reasons" for the trouble at any industrial plant

where there have been a number of stoppages. But there is no need to go beyond the fact that the workers are exploited, plus the methods adopted by management to screw out ever more surplus value. It is now agreed by almost everybody that the tasks which the workers have to do to stay alive are boring, monotonous, repetitive, soul-destroying, and offer no opportunity whatever for them to satisfy their basic human creative instincts, their need to do a job in which they can take a pride. The correspondent of the *Observer* (3-6-62) quoted one of the men at Dagenham:

The monotony of the work is another thing that gets you down. You take the Anglia handbrake. Putting it in involves turning four screws, 30 handbrakes an hour, all day and every day.

This particular job consists of putting in 120 screws every hour in every working day throughout the foreseeable future. The worker has to do every two minutes exactly what he did in the last two minutes. These newspaper articles, surely, are tackling the problem from the wrong angle. What causes astonishment to the impartial observer is not that there should be so much trouble at Ford's, but that there should be so little elsewhere.

### Salvation of souls

There is so little beauty in the lives of people living under capitalism, and such a large proportion of the few beautiful buildings remaining to us from earlier ages is destroyed every time we have a war, that one would think what we have is worth preserving. But some authorities in the Church of England believe otherwise. Not long ago the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London was protesting that the Chancellor of the Diocese of Ely had decided to demolish three ancient parish churches—Denton, built largely in the seventeenth century, and Woolley and Islington (Norfolk) which are mediaeval. In reply to this protest, a reverend gentleman from Worcester said that the purpose of the Church "is the salvation of souls and not the provision and upkeep of museums and ancient monuments."

## THE PASSING SHOW

It is as if the worshippers of Athena Parthenos decided to knock down the Parthenon which was built as a temple for Athena, on the grounds that nobody now wants to pray to Athena in it—which of course nobody does. The fact that a particular superstition was once practised in a particular building doesn't make it any the less beautiful, but obviously the diocese of Ely sets more store upon the preservation of superstition than of beauty.

### Cloisters

A similar instance of the benefits of private ownership is the case of William Randolph Hearst and the Spanish cloisters. Hearst, it appears, never even saw the cloisters, which dated from the twelfth century; but he heard that the monks in a remote part of Spain were prepared to sell their cloisters, so he sent along one of his employees to buy them. He then had to assuage the anger of the local villagers (real or pretended) at the removal of this relic by further large payments to them. Next he hired workmen to dismantle the cloisters stone by stone, had a sawmill built to make the cases to pack the stones in, and then had an extra twenty-one miles of railway constructed to transport the stones when they had been packed. They were taken all the way to Hearst's gigantic fake castle at San Simeon in the United States, and there stored in enormous warehouses along with other art treasures which Hearst had bought from every corner of the world. This vast collection, not even unpacked, was still there when Hearst died years later.

### Amber fountains

The next actor in this tragic farce is George Huntingdon Hartford II, an American multi-millionaire who has bought Hog Island near Nassau in the Bahamas, re-christened it Paradise Island, and is now at a cost of twenty-five million dollars turning it into a fantastically luxurious kind of super-Cinerama playground for other multi-millionaires. A double room at the Ocean Club is said

continued bottom left next page

## CO-PARTNERSHIP, FACT OR FANTASY

## 'John Lewis' replies

Dear Sir,

In the article in your March issue on Co-Partnership—with particular reference to the John Lewis Partnership—there are so many statements which are not in accordance with the facts, that I should be grateful if you would publish this letter in order to correct the quite erroneous impression which your article might create.

The Partners—and the definition you quote is a perfectly happy one, "persons associated with others in business of which they share risks and profits"—are, in fact, joint owners. All the ordinary share capital—the equity—of all the companies is held, either directly or indirectly, by the John Lewis Partnership Trust Ltd. on behalf of all members of the Partnership. You say "the workers in the J.L.P. no more share the profits than do the employees of various concerns who have in recent years taken up the idea known as profit sharing". This is palpably and demonstrably untrue. Several companies in recent years have issued shares to their employees as a means of profit sharing, but the number of shares so issued is fixed arbitrarily by the Board concerned and the balance of the profit is distributed amongst the holders of the ordinary shares, who may be, and usually are, members of the general public. In the J.L.P. none of the general public can own a J.L.P. ordinary share—they are all held in trust for the "Partners"—and all of the profit that would otherwise go to ordinary shareholders goes, under irrevocable settlements in Trust, in one way or another to the Partners themselves.

You go on to say that "the so called profits are no more than part of their wages—a bonus and an incentive for harder

continued from previous page)

to cost up to £50 a day. It is not yet finished. Above the Ocean Club a "gently rising succession of terraces" is to be constructed, and at the summit, above the illuminated swimming pool, the purple creepers and the amber fountains, there will be erected, and floodlit, William Randolph Hearst's twelfth-century Spanish cloisters. Huntingdon Hartford bought it, complete with packing-cases, from Hearst's estate. But there is one small fly in the ointment. The plans for the cloister cannot now be found, and no-one knows how the stones are supposed to go together.

It seems that everything that capitalism touches, it defiles.

AL WYN EDGAR

work". Entirely untrue. The J.L.P. pays wages which are at least as high, if not higher, than their competitors pay and this sharing of profits is something entirely additional and is given pro rata according to their salaries whether they work harder or not. This is pure profit which in most other businesses would go to outside shareholders. It is not irrelevant in this connection to note that last year profits distributed to Partners or applied for their benefit amounted to £1,500,000—a sum of money which could, had the Founder of the J.L.P.—Mr. J. Speden Lewis—decided to retain the business himself, have gone into his own pocket or, had he decided to float the Company in the normal way, into the pockets of outside shareholders of ordinary shares.

You dismiss gaily the amenities which the J.L.P. offers on the grounds that most of the amenities are also offered—and sometimes bettered—by their competitors. This clearly is no place to go into the detailed merits of amenities offered, but it can be confidently stated that no other comparable organisation offers better or even as wide a scope of amenities. Virtually every type of leisure time activity both intellectual and sporting is catered for and subsidised, e.g., music, drama, chess, painting, sailing and



### GOOD READING

Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

all normal sporting activities. In addition there are residential clubs at Cookham on the Thames, at Stockbridge in Hampshire and at Liverpool. Partners can also buy subsidised tickets for operas, plays and concerts.

You seem to find it strange that Partners should be prosecuted for alleged dishonesty. This is quite incomprehensible. If, for example a Partner steals, that Partner is stealing from his fellow workers—universally regarded as being one of the most despicable forms of anti-social behaviour. It is surprising that it appears that you take exception to such a course of action.

The committees and councils of the J.L.P. are, you say "supposed to be democratic bodies but in fact have a large percentage of members nominated by management and in every case are nearly always biased in favour of management. This is particularly true of the General Council of the firm". Here the figures speak for themselves. In the Central (Not General) Council of 136 members, 28 are "nominated" by the management and 108 are *freely elected* by the members of the Partnership.

Legal ownership of the Partnership is vested not in "the Board of Directors and the Chairman", but in the Trustees of the Partnership, who hold it for all present and future members of the Partnership. The powers of the Chairman are certainly wide, but they are limited by a written constitution and a breach thereof on his part could lead to his displacement by the democratically elected Central Council.

Despite your remarks that "J.L.P. workers are, if anything, worse off than workers employed elsewhere", it is a fact that of our 15,000 members, 55% have been with us over 3 years and 41% over 5 years. They are all at liberty to go elsewhere any time they please.

The Founder of the John Lewis Partnership has said that the Partnership is a possible advance in civilisation and perhaps the only alternative to communism. Could it be that the success of this experiment has got "under the skin" of the Socialist Standard?

Yours faithfully,

H. C. PUGH

Public Relations Department,  
John Lewis and Company Ltd.

### Our reply

Mr. Pugh says "there are so many statements which are not in accordance with the facts" that the article on co-



partnership might create an erroneous impression. In fact, the only error was our reference to the Central Council as the General Council.

Apparently Mr. Pugh is happy to accept our definition of "partners" taken from the Concise Oxford Dictionary, but he has ignored the important qualification which we were careful to stress. So, let us repeat that partners have definite—tangible—legal ownership in Capitalist enterprises and in the surplus value extracted from their employees. If this is borne in mind, it is quite clear that J.L.P. workers have no stake in that concern.

Even accepting the definition from the Concise Oxford Dictionary without any qualifying statement, however it is still impossible to fit J.L.P. workers into the category of "partners" unless you want to go into an "Alice in Wonderland" realm of fantasy and double-talk. For years now the J.L.P. has referred to its employees as partners, even though they have come and gone as in any other capitalist concern and in all that time have had no legal ownership in the firm any more than workers have for example in the nationalised industries.

The fact is of course that the J.L.P. workers, like workers anywhere in the world, sell the only thing they have to sell, their ability to work. The wage they receive for expending their energies on behalf of the J.L.P. takes into account not only the actual money received, but includes the various amenities referred to by Mr. Pugh, and part of this wage is the so-called "profits" which we repeat are but a bonus and an incentive to harder work; it is actually referred to by the J.L.P. as a "general bonus" in various issues of their *Gazette*. Profit is unearned income—money which is realised by investing in industry and it only goes to those who have the necessary legal title. In other words, to those who possess stocks and shares etc. This obviously has no relevance to the mass of J.L.P. workers.

### Dividends

Mr. Pugh says that "none of the general public can own a J.L.P. ordinary share . . ." by which he presumably means that no one can hold any of the 612,000 deferred ordinary shares of J.L. Partnership Ltd., 6,995 ordinary shares of the Odney Estate Ltd., and 75 shares of the Leckford Estate Ltd. These are held by the J.L.P. Trustees who are also represented on the J.L.P. Board. The implication to be drawn from the above statement apparently is that there is no exploitation of the workers in the J.L.P. But Mr. Pugh does not mention the £287,000 paid out as dividends upon the preferred ordinary and preference stocks of the company and its subsidiaries, and no mention is made of the actual amount of debenture interest paid out in 1961. According to the *Gazette* of 3rd June, 1961 Loans and Debentures amounted to £10,227,619 and the interest of Outside Stockholders in Subsidiaries amounted to £6,841,389.

Mr. John Bedford, Chairman of Debenhams Limited, in an interview given to the

*Gazette* touched upon this. He was asked about the efficiency of the Partnership by comparison with Debenhams. He said he thought "his own group's profitability was higher, but it was difficult to make a comparison without knowing exactly what capital was tied up to produce the Partnership's results. Debenhams made a return to the Stock Exchange giving such information; the Partnership, he thought, did not."

We have already touched upon amenities, but as Mr. Pugh maintains that no other "comparable organisation offers better or even as wide a scope of amenities", it would be as well to deal with some of his figures. 55% of the 15,000 staff have been with Lewis's over 3 years and 41% over five years. "They are all at liberty to go elsewhere any time they please". Apparently they do so, for these figures from another angle show that out of 15,000 staff, 45% have been less than three years with the J.L.P. and 59% have been there less than five years. Making allowance for normal wastage for retirement and other reasons it would seem that quite a large number

come to Lewis's, find they do not like it, and go elsewhere. If on balance pay and conditions are so favourable in the J.L.P. they should be able to maintain a labour turnover much lower than this.

It can happen, of course, that a firm competes for labour by offering a combination of pay and amenities which really are above the average. What happens in that case is that they get a large number of applicants for vacancies and are able to pick the best: best qualified, best trained, and best from a health point of view. They are, therefore, paying above average wages but getting above average efficiency. The other side of the picture is that some other firms cannot or do not want to compete in this way, so they get the least efficient workers and pay wages below the average. Whether the J.L.P. fits into the latter category is anybody's guess, but one thing is certain and that is that they do not fit into the first category; the staff wastage figures make that crystal clear.

### Special Facilities

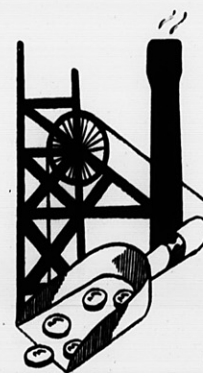
Mr. Pugh gives information about the special facilities offered to J.L.P. staff. Different firms of course use different attractions. Some offer their employees four weeks holiday, luncheon vouchers, and so on. Other employers are able to offer free or cheap travel. Some workers have free or very cheap accommodation, food, clothes, shoes etc., or loans for house purchase at very low interest rates. But it is only necessary to look at the consequences to see that these are not additions to wages. It is obvious that free travel for railwaymen is a necessary accompaniment of low money wages, and the same thing can be found elsewhere.

Mr. Pugh says that we "seem to find it strange that Partners should be prosecuted for alleged dishonesty." But he has again missed the point we were trying to make. A man cannot steal from himself and the very fact that prosecutions take place means that someone else is the legal owner of the stolen goods, not the J.L.P. workers. Apparently Jones Bros. of Holloway (a member firm of the J.L.P.) are under no such illusions as Mr. Pugh. They have installed a buzzer theft trap and anyone caught between two white lines near the staff exit when the buzzer goes, is asked by the watchman to empty his pockets, or may even be taken to a private room to be searched. (See *Observer* 22-4-62).

Regarding the Councils, in particular the Central Council, Mr. Pugh himself tells us "In the Central Council of 136 members, 28 are 'nominated' by the management and 108 are 'freely elected' by the members of the Partnership." The nominated members amount to just over one fifth of the Council; in other words, one in five are there on behalf of the management. In actual fact, as many as a third of the members of the Central Council could be appointed by the management, according to the J.L.P. rules. This still doesn't take into account the very high percentage of

continued bottom next page

## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY



# The experts are fallible

THE ECONOMIC experts of capitalism—the City Editors, the economists, the financial seers—sit on something of a pedestal. Whatever twists and turns the economy may take, they are never caught without a remedy. Their readers, political parties, even governments, hang upon their words.

Which makes it very embarrassing for everybody, if the experts are shown to be as fallible as the rest.

Mr. Samuel Brittan is the Economic Editor of *The Observer* and last year, like all men in his position, he was expected to comment on the Selwyn Lloyd "pay pause" Budget. This is what he wrote, on September 3rd last:

I have a feeling that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is going to surprise many people by his success in carrying out his economic policies . . . many of the people who are now most vociferous in denouncing him may be loudest in his praise a year from now.

Mr. Brittan went on to point out that in some ways the Lloyd policy was following

behind events and then gave his reasons for thinking that " . . . Mr. Lloyd has been so much luckier than his predecessors . . ."

Now—almost a year after—what does Mr. Brittan think of the Lloyd policies? Is he loud in his praise? He is not. He has been doing his homework in *The Economist* and has been impressed by an article in the 12th May issue of that weekly which drew some striking comparisons between the Lloyd squeeze, and what has followed it, and the Butler squeeze of 1957 and what followed that. This is what Mr. Brittan wrote in *The Observer* of 10th June this year:

On both occasions the same kind of arguments have led to the same mistakes. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd too often gives the impression of believing that history began in July, 1961, and has not devoted enough time to studying the mistakes of his predecessors.

And later in the same article:

Government financial measures have in recent years actually accentuated the

trade fluctuations that they were supposed to control.

If Mr. Brittan was wrong, a year ago, when he expected the Lloyd policies would be lucky enough to succeed, he could of course equally be wrong now that he is criticising the Chancellor. Capitalism is a baffling system which can catch out the experts. But if that is going to happen, there is no point in having experts, is there?

## By a few shares

A NEW campaign is announced by the Wider Share Ownership Committee, aimed as its name suggests to encourage more people to buy shares. It would seem to have timed its effort rather badly. After the recent Wall Street debacle we would imagine that many a small investor has gone back to his account in the Savings Bank or the old sock under the bed.

The number of shareholders in the U.K. has apparently increased over the past ten years from about a million to 3½ million. Much of this increase is presumably accounted for by firms like ICI distributing shares to their workers and to lots of small men being persuaded on to the stock exchange band-wagon by tales that capitalist inflation and prosperity were here to stay.

It will be interesting to see what success the campaign has and we hope the Committee will oblige us in due course with details of the number of shareholders in say six or twelve months time. They should make interesting reading, especially if there have been a few more stock exchange shocks in the interim.

At the same time, an analysis of how many hold how much would be useful as well as instructive. We have an idea that the greater part of those 3½ millions hardly matter when it comes to working out who really own stocks and shares.

## Do they know?

Our editorial this month deals with the recent stock exchange shake-ups and makes the point that they basically reflect

### CO-PARTNERSHIP, FACT OR FANTASY continued

management members amongst the "freely elected". A quick glance through the *Gazette* reveals that this year's council is no different from previous councils, the majority of them being management employees.

Council representation and the percentage of nominated councillors have in fact been the subject of some discussion on the Central Council only recently. The following was reported in the *Gazette* of 25th November as part of the discussion of the Central Council:—"Ex-officio members are also a matter of concern to a number of Councillors. Need they be so large a proportion?" "While they could number over thirty in the Central Council when Rank and File Councillors only numbered thirteen the situation was appalling, said one Councillor." It can be seen from this that our statements in the article on co-partnership were perfectly correct and that Mr. Pugh's phrase "freely elected" amounts to precisely nothing.

Says Mr. Pugh "Legal ownership of the Partnership is vested not in 'the Board of Directors and the Chairman,' but in the Trustees of the Partnership . . ." What we actually said—we were referring to the Councils at the time—was that the Councils have no real power and that this is vested as in all capitalist concerns in the

people who have legal ownership represented in this case by the Board of Directors and the Chairman. The Central Board and its Chairman have the real power; the real decisions are taken by the Central Board. Surely we do not have to cite the various decisions taken by the Board which are printed so regularly in the *Gazette*?

In conclusion Mr. Pugh along with Mr. Lewis apparently thinks "that the Partnership is a possible advance in civilization and perhaps the only alternative to communism" and that the success of this experiment has got "under the skin of the *Socialist Standard*." To which we would say that co-partnership, like nationalisation both at home and abroad, and in Communist Russia in particular, is just another way of running capitalism. One can certainly not consider co-partnership therefore as a "possible advance in civilization". That will only come with Socialism.

In the meantime no amount of word juggling is going to conceal the degrading business of the exploitation of the working class even though it may go under the guise of co-partnership and claim to be an "advance in civilization". We say again that co-partnership schemes have nothing to offer the working class.

JONQUET



the general unease amongst capitalists concerning present economic prospects.

This unease has spread to most sectors of the economy and is obviously causing our politicians and their advisers some real headaches. Nor, in spite of the long words they like to use and their knowing looks, do they seem to have much idea of what to do about it all.

For example, hardly had Mr. Selwyn Lloyd finished warning us that he might have to take fresh steps to tighten up demand than he calmly goes and cuts the minimum H.P. deposit from 20 to 10 per cent. Only a little while before, he had eased some of the restrictions on the banks. When it is remembered that he was apparently worried only a few weeks ago about a hire purchase boom, it all seems rather strange.

Some cynics have tried to explain the quick turn round as a by-election gimmick to help the Tories in their present

political troubles. Perhaps so. But we have the shrewd suspicion that it only requires capitalism to go into the faintest suggestion of a spin for all the politicians and their economic experts to lose their balance. To be quite frank, we don't think really they have a clue.

## The Gold Rush

One further thing we have heard for several years past from our experts is that with the new theories about money, credit, and the general control over capitalism, the importance of gold has become a thing of the past. Some of them have even gone so far as to regard it as a myth, a hoax that has been shown for what it really is by the new economic theory.

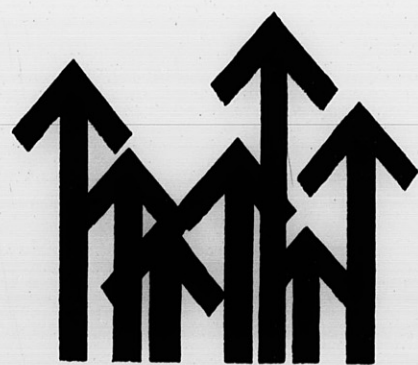
Unfortunately, our capitalists only

seem to think there may be something in these theories when there is little chance of their being put to the test. Immediately things begin to get uncertain, they forget all about the theories and rush as quickly as they can into gold. Which explains the present sudden interest in gold mining shares and the heavy buying of the metal itself.

This is the classic way the capitalists have always acted in times of stress. Not currency, not stocks and shares; but lovely, shiny, golden, gold. As for economic theory, they will come back to that after the crisis has blown over.

Karl Marx, over a hundred years ago, would have found it a quite natural thing for the capitalists to do. He for one was under no delusion about the importance of gold to the capitalist system. The universal equivalent he called it, and universal equivalent it still is.

S. H.



## PRICES IN THE NEWS

ON THE PRINCIPLE that only the rare and unexpected happening is "news", and as prices have been going up for about twenty years it is at first sight surprising that newspapers still give so much space to reports of higher prices. Maybe the editors and reporters constantly hear politicians promises that there will be no more rising prices, and each time a promise is broken they are so shocked that they feel impelled to tell their readers about it. But this, if true, would only show how unobservant newspaper men are, because broken promises are even more common and less noteworthy than jumps of prices. But the latter are common enough.

The International Labour Office publishes each month in the *International Labour Review* a record of price movements in about ninety places in different part of the world and the overwhelming majority of them show prices moving upwards.

In this country the average retail price level is nearly a fifth higher than it was six years ago and in the group covering rent, rates, house repairs, etc. the increase is over 40 per cent.

Among the recent price increases have been the jump in the prices of meat and potatoes, both attributed to temporary

shortages. Meat prices were reported to have gone up by 10% to 20%, while potatoes now cost more than twice as much as a year ago.

Naturally the indignation reached Westminster and came into the fight at by-elections. At West Lothian the Communist candidate Mr. G. McLennan spoke about it.

If the boss cuts your wages by several shillings a week you would immediately reach for your jackets, but the Tories have brought about a real cut in wages through price increases. (*D. Worker* 7.6.62.)

According to the *Daily Worker* reporter who listened to this speech, "Gordon McLennan had a good reception when he criticised the steep raise in the prices of potatoes, other vegetables, meat and butter".

No-one can object to the logic of the statement that when prices go up, and until the workers can win a compensating wage increase, their wage will buy less, just as it would if the wage itself were reduced.

But the same logic seems to have escaped the *Daily Worker* in its editorial comment on the 30 per cent increase of meat prices in Russia and 25 per cent increase for butter. Instead of sympathis-

ing with the Russian workers and denouncing the Russian Government for copying the Tories the editor (2 June, 1962) found himself sympathising with the Russian Government for having to make the "difficult" decision to put up prices rather than spend less on armaments. The editor called it a "temporary" sacrifice on the part of the town workers and described it as being "a redistribution of income among the working people, by which those in the countryside will benefit while those in the towns will temporarily make sacrifices".

This would sound reasonable if Russia were a country in which equality of income prevailed with everyone on approximately the same standard; but that is not a fact, only the promise made and broken by Lenin, and conveniently forgotten by his successors.

On the contrary, Russia is a country of extreme inequality and, unless the situation has changed in recent years, among the comparatively rich are collective farmers and traders, who stand to benefit from the higher prices.

In any event the increase of meat and butter prices in the towns means a very different thing for the Moscow men and

continued bottom next page

## A NEW CAMPAIGN

# Join the CCD



No, this is not a misprint. It stands for The Campaign for Chemical Disarmament which, doubtless, will soon start up when frustrated members of CND and others looking for good causes to follow have digested the facts recently given in an article in *The Guardian* under the title "U.S. Arsenal revised. Chemicals for defence".

From the article it appears that the U.S. Army's projected expenditure for 1963 on research and development shows a drop of 20 per cent. on nuclear weapons and an increase of 67 per cent. on chemical and biological warfare. This, by the way, is a "faint ray of hope" for humanity, according to the former Chief Officer of the U.S. Army, General Creasy, who is reported to have said in

1959 that these weapons could lead to a "less total form of war". Apart from other possible results of chemical warfare, such as the interruption of nerve signals in the body causing convulsions and death, there are such effects as temporary paralysis, deafness, blindness and mental aberration. So much for less total forms of war!

Elsewhere in the article is mentioned the Hague Protocol signed by certain nations after the First World War and ratified by Great Britain (although not the United States) by which it was agreed not to use poisonous gases and chemicals in warfare. Yet a few weeks ago consternation was caused by the finding of hundreds of cylinders of mustard gas on a beach in Wales, manufactured by Bri-

tain during the Second World War and subsequently dumped. So much for the agreements between nations which the CND and similar organisations would have us believe will preserve us against the use of terrible weapons. The fact that gas was not used during the 1939/45 war only means that it was recognised as a rather inefficient method of murdering opponents, depending as it does on weather conditions. The same attitude, it may be added, did not apply to the napalm bomb or the flame thrower.

And so far we have only been discussing chemical weapons. So-called biological warfare is still very secret, although a year or two ago it leaked out that scientists were working on germs which could wipe out cities with far less trouble than hydrogen bombs and, what is more, leave property unharmed!

History has shown that summit meetings, treaties and promises come to nothing when the operations of capitalism force governments to protect their spheres of interest, if necessary, by war. Weapons will be manufactured secretly and held in reserve for the right moment. Equally we know that governments have not shrunk from using such weapons however terrible, when the interests of capitalism demand it.

Nobody can say that they will not do so again.

S. GOODMAN.

continued from previous page

women street sweepers on a wage of about £12 a month, and the Russian "space and atomic scientists... bringing home wage packets of more than £20,000 a year" (John Mossman, *D. Mail* Moscow correspondent, 5 June, 1962.)

If you want to know whether there is any hope that prices, after climbing up for 20 years will climb down again, the answer is that it could happen, but for the workers it will not produce any benefit. Prices were falling for about 15 years from 1920 to 1935 and the workers were just as badly off as now and curiously the economists and businessmen and politicians were then hoping and praying that world prices would rise again particularly for foodstuffs, so that the world's farming populations would be able to buy more British factory products and make industry busy again.

The world is still full of economists and politicians who say that a price system is a necessity as well as a convenience of twentieth century society, but who in practice are always complaining about the way the price system works; demanding that it be interfered with, either by government action to hold prices down or by government subsidies to increase the price paid to the manufacturer or

farmer.

Unlike the non-socialist parties, all of which have their particular proposals for interfering with the way the price system works, we as socialists have no proposals to make except that the price system should be abolished along with capitalism for which it is a necessity.

The theory behind movements of prices is that if left to find their own level in the market a shortage of supply will send up the price and encourage the production of additional supplies to make good the shortage. Conversely an over-supply by depressing the price, will drive some suppliers out of business and make the price a profitable one again.

Socialism, with production carried on solely for use, without sale or price or wage or profit, will have no need for mechanism to adjust production to consumption in a reasonable fashion through the market. Meeting need will be the measure to which the volume of production will be directed, not with the idea of constantly adjusting supplies up and down to market demands (as happens under capitalism) but aiming always to have a sufficient margin of surplus and capacity to meet changes of consumption.

B

=====

# SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

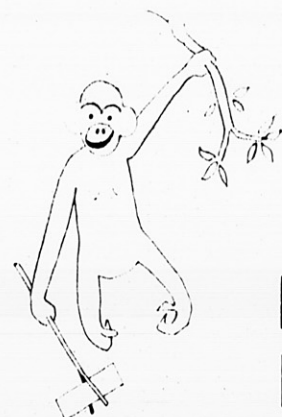
=====

The **WESTERN SOCIALIST**

Journal for Socialism in the U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly





## Branch News

**Wembley Branch** has continued active and has seized the opportunity afforded by finer weather to step up efforts. Regular canvasses are still being held at the rate of one a month and a combined canvass and meeting was held at Portsmouth on June 17th. Alternating with Ealing Branch, meetings are being run every other Thursday at Earls Court throughout the Summer Season. All members are urged to give these their utmost support.

Locally, the branch has plans for advertising its meetings by poster on Railway Station hoardings in the area and suitable posters are being designed. Lectures and discussions are held every other Monday and these are always advertised in the local press. Often, outsiders attend and help to liven proceedings. A film show "The German Story" was scheduled for June 18th, but we go to press too early for a report on it. We hope to do this next month.

**Glasgow** have made a very good start and by the end of May four outdoor meetings had been held, average audience 100. Literature sales and collections amounting to nearly £5. The last indoor meeting of the winter season was held at Woodside Halls where the audience was 57 and literature sales and collection was £4. Stimulated by the activity of the elections in the Kelvin Ward, the Comrades are working harder than ever to get Socialist message over to the workers.

Comrades McCarthy and R. Mitchell went to Belfast to assist the **World Socialist Party of Ireland** in the recent election campaign. Fourteen members attended and supported a meeting in Blitz Square on Sunday, May 27th. Some comrades travelled from Armagh. Two sympathisers assisted the Party members and the audience at one time numbered 100. Literature was sold and a collection taken. In addition a door-to-door distribution of leaflets was made; a tour of the constituency with a public address system, stopping on the way at various housing estates to hold meetings. Leaflets were stuck on all suitable spaces—as one comrade said:—"The public must have thought we were paper-hangers gone mad but to us it looked good".

The result was that the W.S.P. of Ireland polled 62 votes. Press statements had been given and three papers reported them in

full. Our comrades Mitchell and McCarthy were most impressed by the well-organised hard work put in by the Irish members and commented on the pleasure it was to be of some help to them.

**Coventry Group** are still going strong and have moved to better premises which they feel sure will be advantageous. The Group has written to Party members in nearby Rugby and Leamington Spa with news of the Group's activities and it is hoped that they will be able to join in and before long form the nucleus of a Coventry Branch. The Group is also contacting Birmingham Branch with a view to pooling their resources for propaganda generally.

A comrade writes from Wellington, New Zealand that several sympathisers are scanning local newspapers for reviews of the January Socialist Standard which contained articles on the Common Market as copies were circulated to the press. The main point of interest at the moment is the tape recorded lectures which members are able to pass around and so interest many more people than if they had to travel long journeys for discussions. Wherever possible members attend meetings of various organisations in order to meet people and discuss the Party case by way of questions and talks after meetings.

**Swansea Branch** recently had a debate with the local Liberals. 6/- worth of literature was sold. Forty people attended and many showed great interest in the Party's point of view. A member met the prospective Liberal candidate recently and he agreed that Socialism would come eventually and that the *Socialist Standard* was the finest political journal on the market. It is likely that another debate will ensue before very long. In general the Socialist Party is becoming well known in the district. Maybe it won't be all that long time before another branch functions in Swansea?

A letter from Auckland, New Zealand informs us that **Bert Humphreys** died recently at the age of 78. He joined the Auckland Branch of the Party in 1932 and was always a tower of strength right through, until the death of his wife some time ago. Next to his family, Socialism was his only interest.

Last but not least. An appeal in last month's issue for donations to help our propaganda work has resulted in some donations from London. Let more follow. Two comrades from Australia sent £10 to help the cause. This example will be encouraging to all those who wish to bring Socialism nearer.

P.H.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

## Meetings

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, SE6.  
Mondays, 8.15 pm.

July 9th.  
**SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA?**  
Speaker: R. Starc.

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.  
Wednesdays, 9 pm.

July 4th.  
**FILM SHOW**

July 18th.  
**BATTLE FOR THE MIND**  
Speaker: J. Keyes.

### EALING MEETINGS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road [3 minutes from Ealing Broadway Station].  
Fridays, 8 pm

### NOTTINGHAM MEETINGS

Sundays.  
Old Market Square, 7 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
West Regent Street, 7.30 pm.

Saturdays  
Exchange Square, 3 pm.

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Sunday, July 8th & 22nd and then every second Sunday in the month.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth.  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

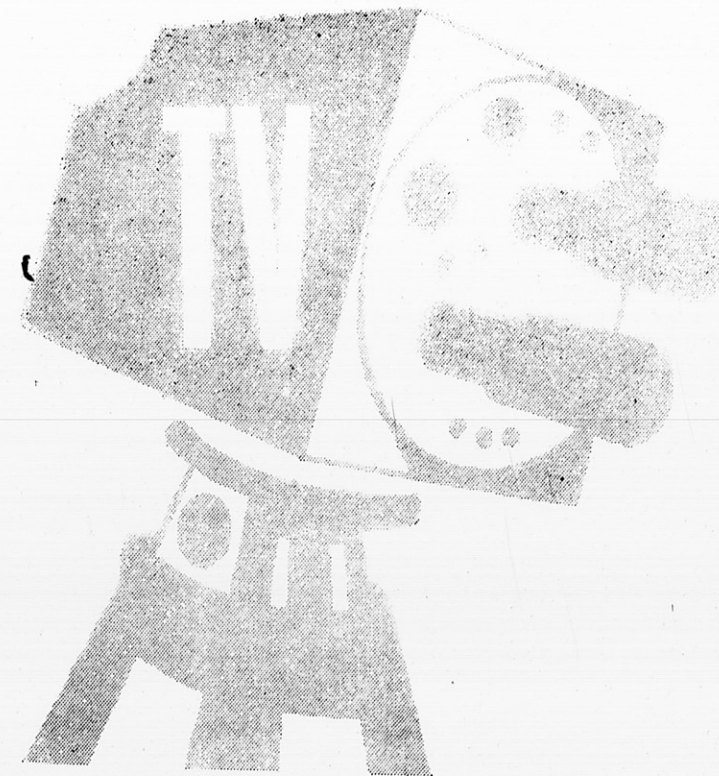
Thursdays  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8.30 pm  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays  
Rushcroft Road, 8 pm



# **SOCIALIST STANDARD**

---



So another Committee looks at the question and does nothing. Its predecessor, the Beveridge Committee, 1949 did at least tentatively suggest that "it might be reasonable to have something that may be held to correspond to a 'Hyde Park' of the air, that is to say, an opportunity for all minorities which have messages, religious or other, on some occasion to put their messages over, not regularly or at length, but some time."

*page 115*

## **Nothing from Pilkington**

THE SOVIET STATE

*page 119*

CRIME IN OUR TIME

*page 126*

TOBACCO SMOKING

*page 124*



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th Sept. no meetings Aug.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 3rd Aug. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 17th Aug. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (13th Aug.) in month 7.30 pm, 1 Lowry House, Church Street, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** 1st Wednesday in month. For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (6th and 20th Aug.) 7.30pm, The Luncheon Room, Craven Arms (ground floor), High Street. Enquiries: Secretary 60 Alma Street, of Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Brocm Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (8th Aug.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (Aug. 13th and 27th) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th July) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th and 23rd Aug.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road School, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bawdsey Avenue, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th and 24th Aug.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham. Meeting resuming in September.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: H. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

New Reprint of

## ART, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

by WILLIAM MORRIS

with a modern reassessment by  
the Socialist Party

First published by the SPGB in 1907

ORDER FROM SPGB PRICE 1/- (POST 3d EXTRA)

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW	116
Algerian Independence	
Beeching's Cuts	
Cold Comfort	
YOUR WAGES ARE A PROBLEM	117
INEQUALITIES IN RUSSIA	118
THE SOVIET STATE	119
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY	120
Who are the share-owners	
High pressure salesmen	
The mailed fist	
Going up or down	
East West Trade	
JACK LAW	121
THE PASSING SHOW	122
CONFESSIONS OF A TORY MP	123
ORGANISATION	123
TOBACCO SMOKING	124
CAPITALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN	125
BOOK REVIEWS	126
Crime in our Time	
The Great Crash	
ENTERTAINMENT & PROFIT	127
NEWS FROM THE BRANCHES	128

## Nothing from Pilkington

AS READERS of the SOCIALIST STANDARD will know, in all the forty or so years since the beginning of broadcasting in this country, the SPGB has never been allowed by the BBC to state its case on the air. Our many applications have always been rejected. The BBC (like the independent television companies) is under no obligation to give opportunities to us or other small organisations, and as far as we are concerned they have always found lack of "programme interest" or some such reason for not doing so.

It contrasts oddly with the kind of argument advocates of nationalisation were fond of using to the effect that "public ownership" is a protection against the abuse of power by private monopolies. It also contrasts with experience in the USA and Canada where our comrades, and our own members on visits to these countries, have many times put the Socialist case on radio and TV.

When the Pilkington Committee was set up we put in evidence detailing our experience. It appears to have had no effect. In this Report (Paragraphs 294-307) they deal with Party Political Broadcasting, meaning the broadcasts agreed between the "leading political parties" for their own advantage, and do indeed have a few words to say about the question "should minor parties be given the opportunity to broadcast" but this gets nowhere because they decided that it was "impossible to write down an exact definition of a 'political party' for the purposes of affording the right to make party political broadcasts."

They add "it must remain a matter to be settled empirically"—which no doubt will continue to be various reasons for saying no.

So another Committee looks at the question and does nothing. Its predecessor, the Beveridge Committee 1949 did at least tentatively suggest (Paragraph 257) that "it might be reasonable to have something that may be held to correspond to a 'Hyde Park' of the air, that is to say, an opportunity for all minorities which have messages, religious or other, on some occasion to put their messages over, not regularly or at length, but some time."

The fact that the SPGB submitted evidence is recorded in the Report (Appendix B, Page 324) and the evidence itself will be included in an Appendix not yet published.

## ITV SQUEALS

When big, fat Billy Bunter saw his sausage stolen at breakfast time, he set up an almighty squeal.

And that was what we heard from the independent television companies, and from some of the newspapers which have interests in ITV when the Pilkington report came out.

With one difference. The fat school-boy never tried to convince everybody else that it was in *their* interests that he should have the sausage, as well as any bacon that was going.

One of the loudest squeals, as we might have guessed, came from the *Daily Mirror*: "They tell the public, in 160,000 words, to go to hell." The *Mirror* has a big holding in Associated TeleVision.

It is not difficult to find the reasons for these squeals. The Pilkington recommendations, if they are ever fully applied, could mean a lot less profit for some of the independent TV companies, which have been doing so well for themselves.

That was why their shares slumped, the day after the report came out.

Pilkington had some fascinating things to say on the scope, philosophy and responsibilities of broadcasting and, reasonably enough, questioned whether the sheep-like acceptance of the drivel which goes under the name of entertainment on television is really enjoyment.

This part of the report was savaged in the press, by papers which themselves are not slow to pontificate on the responsibilities of giving out public information.

But what really caused a flutter was the Pilkington conclusion that ITV had failed to provide good television because it was too bothered about selling advertising time. With something like a scandalised air, the committee uncovered the fact that the profit motive can be responsible for the deliberate production of something which is mean and shoddy.

Now this is interesting. But it is some thing which Socialists would have thought obvious to everybody.





## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### Algerian Independence

BEFORE THE last shots of the independence celebrations had died away, the new state of Algeria was engaged in a frontier dispute with neighbouring Morocco and the troops were being moved to and fro.

There was irony, too, in the political split between deputy prime minister ben Bella and his nominal chief ben Khedda. One of the supremely aggravating factors in the French suppression of Algeria was the power of the occupying army, and the use which was made of it by the political and economic interests which stood for French Algeria.

Of all people, ben Bella should have learnt a lesson from this. Yet in his power struggle he has recruited the Algerian Nationalist Army to his side and at one stage seemed about to use it in an attempted coup.

No hint was given by the Algerian nationalist leaders during the fighting that this might be the outcome of the bloodshed. They promised much fairer times. Events have shown that Algeria will do its best to become a no nonsense capitalist state.

Now that the FLN has won, what can we look forward to?

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Already, the new state is feeling its way in the international rivalries of capitalism. Mr. ben Bella's policy of free alignment with any country which will play along with Algeria's economic development promises to provide one of the political divisions of the future.

It is matter of time before the Algerian workers are told that it is up to them to work harder and to make sacrifices in the interests of the people who will really own the country.

The spurious idealism and the promises of the days of the revolution will be forgotten as the new Algeria struggles to take its place among the other capitalist nations.

And sooner or later there will be another Algeria to fill the headlines with horror. At the moment the slate is almost clean, but capitalism will throw up other colonial wars. Or worse.

### Beeching's Cuts



The axe man cometh.

This year's report from the British Transport Commission indicated where the proposed cuts in rail services are likely to fall.

The Newport to Brecon line, for instance, in South Wales. Here, said Transport Minister Marples, a statistical half-man is being carried for one hundred and seven miles by a 160 ton train—about equal to a five-ton crane lifting a bottle of beer.

"It would pay us," he said, "to give that man a car and close the line."

That is the yardstick which the Beeching inquiry has had to use. Not: Is it useful? but: Does it pay? Some of the Commission's undertakings can answer yes to this question. London Transport pays. British Road Services and the docks have increased their receipts.

Only the railways—and only some parts of them at that—fail utterly to conform to capitalism's law of existence: Does it pay?

Mr. Marples is not alone in his recognition of this law. Labour Party spokes-

man George Strauss said, when the House of Commons were debating the Transport Commission's report, that the railway losses gave people the impression that what he called "publicly owned" transport was a failure.

Mr. Strauss has his definition of a failure, and of a success. The report showed, he said, that the reverse was true because all the services except the railways and the inland waterways had made a profit.

Both Tories and Labour are united in the opinion that to succeed nationalised industry must make a profit. Which means they agree that basically nationalised industries are as much a part of capitalism's economy as any private industry is.

One fact seems to have escaped notice. Removing the rail services from many parts of the country means that those areas are being left to depend upon road transport. This means that the government are virtually creating transport monopolies all over the country.

This is hardly consistent with the Conservative doctrine of what they like to call "healthy" competition. But really capitalism is impatient of all doctrines except one.

Does it pay?

### Cold Comfort

Too late for the July SOCIALIST STANDARD came two noteworthy items of news. Minor in themselves, perhaps, they neatly show that the seriousness with which a person regards the housing question depends upon which end of the telescope he is rich enough to be able to view it through.

ITEM ONE: The London County Council reported that the number of homeless families in their care continues to increase and to set up new records as it does so. There are 803 such families now, involving over 3,800 people. This is the highest ever.

ITEM TWO: The Lord Mayor of Nottingham said that, on a recent visit to the Midlands Design Centre, Lord Snowden had told him that the publicity given to the high cost of restoring Princess Margaret's new home had not gone un-

continued bottom left next page

## DO WAGE INCREASES PUT UP PRICES?

## Your wages are a problem

ONE OF CAPITALISM'S toughest problems is the size of the wage which is paid to the working people who keep the system operating.

Basically, it is a problem of almost mathematical simplicity. The working class produce values which are higher than their wages. They produce a surplus value which goes to their employers. If the workers can force their wages up, there is less of the surplus left for their employers. On the other hand, if the employers can force wages down, more of the surplus will go to them. This must hold good, however the productivity of the worker may be altered by changes in natural conditions or in the intensity of his labour.

It is inevitable that capitalism's governments should concern themselves in this dispute which, by the way, is known as a "class struggle" by Socialists, who have an uncomfortable habit of calling a capitalist spade a spade. Governments do their governing in the interests of the employing, owning class of capitalism. It is, therefore, equally inevitable that when they concern themselves with the class struggle over wages, governments should take the side of the capitalist class.

Thirty or forty years ago there was no great need for the government's intervention to be especially vigorous. With capitalism in the doldrums, with never less than one million unemployed in this country, the working class were badly placed to push home any demand for better wages. If they did push any such demands the government had only to stand aside and watch the workers starve themselves onto their knees in a strike or a lock-out.

Since the war, conditions have been rather different. Wage rises must now be restrained by government action and appeals, rather than by the old method of both sides beating their heads together. Sometimes, indeed, conditions have defeated even the appeals and the government itself has surrendered, offering wage increases rather than face a strike. This has happened more than once over the

continued from previous page

noticed. He would, he said, just as soon live in a small cottage.

To use that classical phrase: No comment.

railwaymen, much to the annoyance of newspapers like *The Economist*, which irritably demands at such times to know whether the government is serious in its desire to stop wages going up.

An essential part of the official campaign on wages has been the thinking up of responsible-sounding excuses for refusing the workers' demands. These excuses must be epitomised in a snappy name for the refusals. This time last year it was the pay pause which, it seems clear, was designed to hold wages in check for a few months. There are signs that the pause was at least as successful as the government could have hoped. Apart from the rises which were denied to government employees, the engineers themselves forebore to press a wage claim last autumn. The engineering employers have now conceded a three per cent. rise, but in the opinion of at least one newspaper, this would have come earlier but for the pay pause.

Now the "guiding light" on wage increases has replaced the pause, although it is being somewhat buffeted by the arbitration tribunals.

It is safe to forecast that, for those who are willing to do a little research and remembering, the events of capitalism will expose the government's excuses for what they are. Just after the war, for example, the Attlee government launched a great campaign on wages. There was a propaganda drive to convince everybody that rises were inadmissible because, among other things, Britain's international balance of payments was in jeopardy. Ministers lost no chance of parading statistics which showed how the British capitalist class were spending more on their imports than they were receiving from their exports. We heard many homely analogies about the difficulties of families which spent more than their income and we were invited to regard ourselves as members of a big, British, capitalist family.

A lot has happened since then. The international trading situation of Britain has varied considerably over the years. Once before—during 1959—the British capitalist class actually had a favourable balance of payments. Now it has happened again. The Treasury has announced that the first quarter of this year yielded a payments surplus in

Britain's international trade of £21 millions. The terms of trade—the ratio of import to export prices—are set fair for British capitalism and have been so for some time. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has suggested that over the year the surplus in payments might come to something like £150 millions.

At the same time another of the difficulties which faced the Labour government has gone, to be replaced by its opposite. There is no longer a desperate need to rush into a gaping wide world market, a market waiting to be filled with any substandard commodities which could be produced fast enough to pump into it. Coal, for example, was one of the big needs of the post war years. But so much has the demand for coal decreased, that the National Coal Board has closed many of its pits and intends to close still more.

### The dilemma

NCB chairman Lord Robens, speaking at the last annual conference of the National Union of Mineworkers, put his finger on British capitalism's present dilemma:

This is not an era of coal at any price—that ended in 1957; we are in the era of hard selling based on price, quality and service, and in this situation the fundamental need is to be able to produce the right produce at the right price.

Conditions, then, have decidedly changed since the 1945 Labour government and in doing so have wiped out the excuses which were used to justify the wage freeze and the other restrictions of Crippsian austerity. The government itself has changed. But government policy on wage increases remains unaltered. All that has happened is that the old excuses have been replaced by the new. The catch-phrases of the late forties have given way to those of the early sixties. A pay pause may sound different from a wage freeze, but in fact it means almost exactly the same.

In one respect the government has not been caught napping by the changes of the past seventeen years. They have not run out of excuses. Now, we are told that wage rises are inflationary. The



argument which goes with this assertion has almost become part of the mystique of modern capitalism.

When wages rise, runs the argument, the costs of production go up and the employers automatically increase their prices to recoup this. Higher prices mean that any unit of currency is able to buy less than before, which means that more currency units are needed to circulate the same amount of commodities. Thus wages are supposed to be going up closely followed by prices which, as they rise, nullify the wage increases and cut the purchasing power of the pound. This, say the pundits, is inflation.

This argument ignores several basic facts of capitalist life. Wages are the price of the commodity labour power and generally will fluctuate in accordance with the state of the labour market. But a market for one commodity can be buoyant at the same time as for another it is depressed. Although the coal mines

are having difficulty in selling their product it is still possible for miners to get rises because at the moment most of them could get another job without great difficulty. The prices of many of the commodities which will for ever be associated with the so-called Affluent Society—television sets, refrigerators, washing machines—have tumbled over the past few years. But, as we have seen, the wages of the electricians and the engineers who make these goods have increased.

Karl Marx made the point over a century ago and it is still valid today. Highly paid workers can produce cheap commodities, and vice versa. A wage rise need not, therefore, be followed by a price rise.

*The Guardian* recently challenged the starting point of the inflation theory. In an editorial published on June 25, they said: This is the same mode of thinking as the one that regards success in en-

forcing a pay pause as the overriding test of present British economic policy. But in fact labour costs in the United States have risen sharply in periods of falling production and have actually declined in periods of recovery in spite of bigger increases in wages. . . . There is much evidence that the same is true of Britain.

Where, now are the protestations of *The Guardian*—and of other papers—that wage increases must put up labour costs? Are they buried, along with the other stale excuses? If so, we may be sure that they will return, even if in reincarnation.

Yes, wages are a problem and like most problems they are fertile in paradoxes. Perhaps the biggest paradox of all is that the problem will not be solved by putting wages up, or down, but by getting rid of them altogether.

IVAN.

## SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

### Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept  
52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4

6 issues 4/6 post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me

Socialist Standard  
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

## INEQUALITIES IN RUSSIA

A member who has recently visited Russia sends us his interesting observations. ED. COM.

THE JULY SOCIALIST STANDARD quoted John Mossman of the *Daily Mail* as saying that whereas Russian women street cleaners get about £12 a month, space and atomic scientists bring home more than £20,000 a year. These are only "dry statistics," our local Communists will try and explain them away. . . . All animals are equal, only some are more equal than others!

But to an observer—particularly a Socialist one—even with just one eye open, it shows that class divisions are rapidly developing in the Soviet Union.

A few weeks ago I returned from Russia; and it was the wide differences of dress between the poorest and the more affluent that struck me. For example, in Leningrad one sees many elderly women street cleaners, poorly dressed and shuffling along the gutters with their brooms. It is not a particularly happy sight; and is in complete contrast to the well-dressed officials, diplomats and "important" people that one meets in the Astoria hotel or on board the *M.S. Michael Kalinin*, a Soviet luxury liner. Most of these "important" people travel first class, dress well, carry expensive ciné cameras and do not have to

worry if there is a shortage of butter or meat (which there is at the moment in the Soviet Union), or if prices rise.

It is obvious to the observer in Russia that there is a growing gulf between the average worker and the emergent bourgeoisie; the one looks shabby and drab, and travels by bus, trolleybus or tram; the other has a Moscovich car, or uses *Aeroflot* or a luxury liner. The privileged few have a large modern apartment or a *Dacha* (or both), whilst the majority in a city like Leningrad live in slums every bit as bad or worse than those of Liverpool or Glasgow.

Some people are lucky enough to get a flat in the suburbs. According to a recent issue of *Moscow News*, "families that are still housed in overcrowded and substandard dwellings will get new flats before the end of the first decade." And the experts say that approximately 86 million flats will have to be built within the next twenty years! We seem to have heard all this before—in Britain.

Soviet apologists tell us that life is getting better. And it is. A little better for the majority; and a lot better for the few.

A British visitor to the Soviet Union said to me: "If this is Socialism, I don't want it." But, of course, it is not Socialism.

PEN.



## CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

# The Soviet State PART I

RUSSIA is a mysterious country in many ways. Its internal power struggles are submerged, dramatic affairs in which we usually realise that one man has fallen and another taken his place only by their relative places on a rostrum or in the line up to greet Krushchev at an airport. What news comes out is carefully filtered.

Nevertheless, we know enough about Russia to be able to say that the social system which exists there is Capitalism. This means that it is basically the same system as in England and America, although it would obviously be foolish to say that it corresponds in every way. When feudalism was the recognisable social system in many parts of the globe it, too, took different forms in different countries, but basically it was the same social system in all of them.

The Russian Government claims—and its claim is supported by the Communist Parties of the World—that the Soviet Union is a Socialist country. The Soviet Constitution states, for example, in Article 1 that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "is a Socialist State of workers and peasants." And Article 4 adds that:

the economic foundations of the U.S.S.R. consist in the Socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the Capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private property of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

But it is not constitutions that determine social systems. Capitalism in Russia does not rest on a legal constitution, but on the social and economic relationships which operate there. The evidence that has come from Russia in the past and is still coming now, shows clearly that certain basic features of Soviet society correspond to what we recognise as Capitalism. In fact, the so-called "evidence" for the existence of Socialism there is mainly a listing of the superficial differences between Russian Capitalism and some of the other Capitalist powers. These differences mean a lot to the ardent supporter of Russia; a critical analysis puts them in a less convincing light.

To begin with, we have to chop away some of the confusion which Communist

party leaders have so assiduously spread over the years. Writing in *Economic problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Stalin said:

absolutely mistaken . . . are those comrades who allege that, since Socialist society has not abolished commodity production, we are bound to have the re-appearance of all the economic categories characteristic of capitalism: labour power as a commodity, surplus value, capital, capitalist profit, the average rate of profit, etc. (Page 21).

He went on to justify these apparent contradictions by claiming that in Russia commodities, money, banks, and so on, " . . . while they lose their old functions and acquire new ones, preserve their old form, which is utilised by the Socialist system" (page 59), and that " . . . it is chiefly the form, the outward appearance, of the old categories of Capitalism that have remained in our country, but . . . their essence has radically changed in adaptation to the requirements of the Socialist economy" (page 60).

This sort of argument is dishonest enough to explain away anything. Stalin, of course, had the last word—any comrades who remained "absolutely mistaken" long enough probably went under in one of the purges which were so often necessary to protect what we were told was Socialism in Russia.

What are the fundamental criteria by which we recognise the capitalist social system? They are: wage labour and commodity production; and capital investment and accumulation.

Do these things exist in Russia? The Soviet state is the centralised monopoliser of the means of wealth production, to which the workers in Russia have to sell their energies for money. It therefore employs the Russian workers and pays them wages just like other employers in other countries. Thus the relationship between the Soviet state and its workers is one of capital and labour. Members of the Communist Party may not think that this fact in itself proves that Capitalism exists in Russia, but Karl Marx, to whose theories they pay lip service, would certainly have thought so. In his *Wage Labour and Capital*, he summed up his argument with "wage labour presup-

poses capital—capital presupposes wage labour."

Capital is accumulated in Russia by the State and invested in state enterprise. Now the State can only do this if it is appropriating the surplus value, or the results of unpaid labour time, of the workers it employs. This surplus value may not be distributed in dividends in the same way as in other Capitalist countries, but this makes no difference to the basic situation. In this country the State take a sizeable portion of surplus value by way of taxation upon the Capitalist class; in Russia, it also takes it directly from the workers it employs. The Soviet State does impose some taxes—capital can thus be accumulated in either way.

### Raising productivity

In his book *Industry in the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1949), E. Lokshin wrote:

Socialist industry has incomparably greater possibilities than Capitalist industry of raising the productivity of labour, of constantly lowering production costs and thus increasing accumulations. (Page 100.)

But before making this statement, he was careful to prepare the way for it by quoting Stalin:

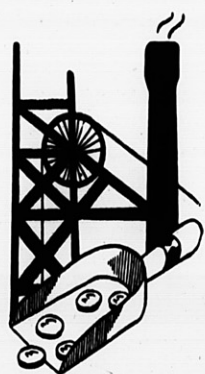
"History up till now," said Comrade Stalin, "has known three paths of the formation and development of powerful industrial states. The first path is the path of grabbing and pillaging colonies . . . The second path is the path of military conquest and the exaction of large indemnities from one country by another . . . The third path is the path of usurious concessions and usurious loans from capitalistically developed countries to a capitalistically backward country . . . All these paths were unacceptable to the Soviet Union . . . The Communist Party and the Soviet Government led the Land of Soviets along a different course, of industrialising the country by drawing on its interior sources of accumulation" (our emphasis).

These statements of Stalin's may be true in themselves, but Lokshin's defence of the Soviet Union is typical in that he uses them to give a completely false com-

continued bottom next page



## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY



### Who are the share-owners

Last month we reported on the new campaign being organised to encourage British workers to buy more stocks and shares. We also quoted the estimates made by the organisers about the number of shareholders in the country.

The New York Stock Exchange has now provided details of the number of shareholders in the United States. These are estimated at about 17 million, an increase of over 10 million in the last ten years.

The U.S. correspondent of the *Financial Times*, giving these figures, comments that in happier times they might have been a cause for congratulation, but that recent events have given "people's capitalism" a rather tarnished look. Judging by the panic and disillusionment that hit many of these small investors in the recent Wall Street shake-up, he is certainly right.

### High pressure salesmen

One result of this shake-up has been the questioning of the methods that have apparently been used by many U.S. Stock

Exchange firms to get business. They have been using a large army of part-time salesmen to go round getting people to buy stocks and shares just as they would soap or toothpaste. Some of them have even been selling extremely doubtful issues in such industries as electronics, automatic vending machines, etc., which have turned out to be virtually worthless.

We wonder how many of the 17 million have been accounted for by this sort of dubious activity?

### Beyond the curtain

In view of the way production and distribution are carried on in Russia and her satellites, Socialists would not suppose that the trading and financial problems there would differ essentially from what we have here.

It suits ill-informed writers in the Press to keep plugging the theme that it is quite astonishing that capitalist Russia should behave like a capitalist power—but what else would they expect?

In the early part of July, a two-week international summer school of bankers was held in Moscow to enable the foreigners to learn about the Russian

banking system. (Last year they met in Oxford). The British visitors numbered 35 and represented the big five joint-stock banks as well as the Bank of England and the merchant banks. More than 50 countries were represented, including the U.S.A. and many of the newly formed African and Asian countries.

Innocents who suppose that things are really different in Russia may wonder why Russia needs to encourage such an affair. But Russian industry is engaged in producing goods for sale at a profit in home and foreign markets and has just as much need of a vast banking and finance apparatus as has the rest of the world. It has not at all been able to escape the necessity of finding markets for exports and has been no more successful than its Western rivals. If Britain has problems which lead some industrial groups to favour entry into the Common Market, Russia has her own difficulties in COMECON (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, established in 1949 by Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania).

An article by Norman MacKenzie in the *New Statesman* last month maintains

### The way ahead— you can help

**Our financial position is getting serious. Funds are rapidly running out. Our expenses far exceed our income. We have three pamphlets\* to publish but it is extremely doubtful if we will have sufficient funds to print them all. We must have more donations quickly. Will members and sympathisers do what they can to help us out of the difficulty?**

**The position is urgent.**

\* "The Case for Socialism"; the replacement for "Russia since 1917"; and the revised "Racial Problem".

I. D. J.

(To be concluded.)

THE SOVIET STATE continued from previous page.

parison between what he calls "capitalist methods of accumulation" and the method which is used in Russia—"interior sources of accumulation." Capital can only be accumulated from the exploitation of labour. So what else can Lokshins "interior sources" be other than the unpaid labour of Soviet workers?

No one can deny the dissimilarities between Capitalism in this country and Capitalism in Russia. The capitalist class in Russia is not as distinct as in this country and "Western style" private property is largely non-existent in the Soviet Union. But it does not follow from this that Capitalism has gone from Russia, and with it the exploitation of man by man. It does mean that in Russia the state is the biggest property owner and exploiter of all.

For exploitation has nothing to do with conditions of work, nor with the value of

wages. Exploitation is an integral part of the relationship between employer and employee, whereby the employer can appropriate surplus value for the accumulation of capital, by paying the worker less than the value of what he has produced or assisted in producing. Thus it is possible for a worker with a relatively high wage to be exploited at a higher rate than a worker with a lower wage.

It may be argued that the State uses some surplus value for the creation of things like roads, schools and hospitals. But this is only the accepted function of the State in a highly organised society. The capitalist class in this country needs a centralised authority to do these things because it could not possibly do them without such an authority. In Russia, the State has the same functions, but with a difference. It has the field to itself.

that these countries have been unable to achieve the degree of common planning already attained by the six European countries in the Common Market—hence Krushchev's apparent anxiety lest Britain's entry into the Common Market and the further development of the Market may make great difficulties for the exports of the Comecom countries, including Russia. Mr. MacKenzie's view is that each of the Comecom countries is concentrating on industrial self-sufficiency rather than on integration into the whole group. One outcome has been that "with the exception of Poland, these predominantly rural countries are now chronically short of food."

One ironical accompaniment of the relationship between Russia and the other Comecom countries related by Mr. MacKenzie is that their internal price systems are so complex that when they enter into trade agreements between themselves they have to make use of world prices as a common basis of measurement, which "explains why the trade attachés of communist embassies in the West spend so much time collecting invoices and catalogues which are sent to Moscow for analysis."

### The mailed fist

IT IS the fashion these days for managing directors, Ministry of Labour officials and politicians to congratulate themselves and everyone else on the harmony and amity that is supposed to mark industrial relationships. To the extent that things have changed it is mostly the result of years of low unemployment and shortage of labour—employers have had to hide the mailed fist a little. But Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, of the *Sunday Telegraph*, recently scented a wind of change. He noted that the Wall Street Stock Exchange collapse alarmed the workers at the Ford Motor Works at Dagenham with whom Mr. Worsthorne had been talking.

This is what he had to say about it:

The men I talked to were frightened and malleable, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a deep sleep, and scarcely knew where they were. If the mood at Ford's is any guide, now would seem to be the time to put industrial relations on a sounder footing. At the risk of being called all sorts of unpleasant names, I should like to suggest that this means, in blunt terms, putting the working man in his place, which is a very much lower one than he has been encouraged to enjoy for 15 years.

Don't say you haven't been warned!

### Going up or down?

ON THE whole economists and politicians claiming to understand the workings of

the economic system have lived in a mood of sustained optimism for the past twenty years, based on the sanguine belief that things would never get really bad again because there is more knowledge and experience available than there used to be. Bernard Harris, writing recently in the *Sunday Express*, on prospects of a slump in America like that in the 'thirties, dismissed it, not precisely because there aren't danger signals, but because "the cause of business fluctuations is better understood. The techniques for dealing with them are better developed."

But there are dissident voices. Mr. Enoch Powell, who has been "saving the country" by resisting the nurses' demand for higher pay, went on record two years ago to the effect that the Government's techniques for handling the crisis of 1958-9 had had no effect whatever. (As he had resigned from the Government he was exercising the right to be critical of what his ex-colleagues were doing). And Mr. George Schwartz has been wondering in the *Sunday Times* whether we aren't "back to the old trade cycle" (Powell's view appears to be that we never left it.)

Mr. Samuel Brittan in the *Observer* goes further than Powell, who thought the Government's actions had no effect, because he (Brittan), thinks they make the problem worse:

Government financial measures have in recent years actually accentuated the trade fluctuations that they were supposed to control.

The *Financial Times* (June 15) pointed out another difficulty about prescribing cures for whatever ails the patient, namely, the difficulty of diagnosis. How do you prescribe for an unhealthy state of trade if you can't decide what its state?

At present British industry is operating on a plateau, and one can make out an almost equally convincing case for say-

ing that the plateau is sloping downwards as upwards.

### East-west trade

FOR MANY years after the war, and particularly when the Western governments rigidly prohibited the export to Russia and her allies of products and materials useful for armaments, never a trade union conference went by without resolutions being moved demanding more trade with Iron Curtain countries. Many workers who were enthusiastic about it had a somewhat mixed idea of what it meant: to them "more trade" meant more British goods being sold abroad without its counterpart of more foreign goods being marketed here. (Some supporters of joining the Common Market have the same blurred vision.)

In the last year or two, with more exports from Russia and Eastern Europe coming into world markets, zeal for East-West trade has cooled off considerably. British coal miners who had supported the idea had never anticipated that it might take the form of the large quantities of cheap Russian oil hastening still further the decline of coal as a fuel for manufacture and domestic lighting and heating. And workers in engineering concerns doing big business in export, were not counting on the steady increase in the amount of machinery and equipment that now figures in Russian exports. A recent development has been the Russian invasion of the watch market. *Soviet Weekly* (June 28, 1962) tells how Russian exports of watches have increased from 12,000 in 1938, to 250,000 in 1955, 1,147,600 in 1957 and 4½ million in 1961. They go to 50 countries in all parts of the world and "in price and quality Soviet watches are challenging the long-standing pre-eminence of the Swiss watchmakers in this field."

H.

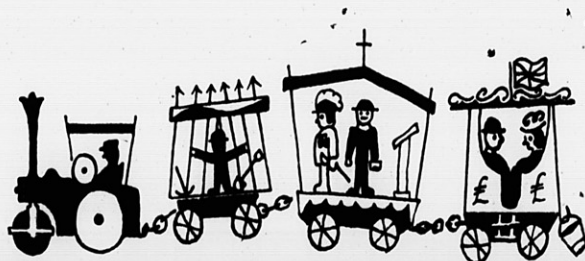
### JACK LAW

member with gratitude the encouragement he gave them when they first joined the Party, and with his help became able propagandists for Socialism.

He was deeply disgusted at the mass working class support for the Second World War; his experiences in the trenches had made him somewhat impatient of such ignorant acceptance of capitalism's blood-baths. Jack dropped out of party activity after the war, although to the end he was a Socialist and made no bones about it.

He leaves a widow and two sons one of whom is a member of Wembley Branch. To them we offer our sympathy.





### The pace-makers

The present uproar among those employed in the "public sector"—nurses, teachers, civil servants, and so on—at the fact that they are the chief sufferers from the Government's pay policy, is particularly interesting to those who remember what the Labour Party and reformers generally used to say on this subject. It was once a settled belief among left-wingers that any industry or service run by the State or by a municipality would give its workers better conditions than any similar private industry or service, and that private employers would have to improve the wages and conditions they offered in order to keep their workers. So that the nationalisation of an industry would not only benefit the workers in that industry: it would benefit those in other industries as well. See, for example, Bernard Shaw in *The Transition to Social Democracy*, reprinted in his *Essays in Fabian Socialism*:

At the very outset of the new extension of municipal industries, the question of wage will arise. A minimum wage must be fixed . . . The worst sort of sweaters will find that if they are to keep their "hands", they must treat them at least as well as the municipality.

And so forth. When these arguments were fashionable, Socialists were pointing out that since the State, and the municipalities, and the State boards, were and could only be committees representing the general interests of the capitalist class, it was useless to hope that they would give any better wages and conditions than individual capitalists. And judging by the recent agitation among "public sector" employees, it seems that not only are those employed by the State and its agencies no better treated than similar workers in private employ—they are actually falling behind in wages and conditions.

But no doubt the nationalizers will still be trotting out their "better wages" arguments for years to come.

### Strike in Saskatchewan

When we say that all workers by hand or brain have fundamentally the same interests, we are told that white-collar and professional workers are somehow

quite different from manual workers—for example, doctors and the rest would never strike. This theory was never in accord with the facts—doctors and nurses have gone on strike more than once in Continental countries in recent years, and they threatened to strike, and nearly did strike, in this country on the introduction of the National Health Service. Now, of course, the theory has been swept away finally by the events in Saskatchewan. There the great majority of doctors have gone on strike against the Government's attempt to introduce a medical service having some points in common with the British system. What matters here is not whether one sympathizes with this particular strike (we emphatically do not), but the simple fact that the strike has happened and has continued several weeks. Doctors, in fact, are workers just like the rest of us. In their struggles over conditions of employment they can and do use such working-class weapons as strike action even, as in this case, for the wrong reasons.

### Cruel and violent

As a judge recently sentenced a man of twenty to five years' imprisonment, and other youths to shorter terms, for wounding with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, he is reported to have said: "The iron bars and bottles and other weapons with which some of you were armed show how cruel and violent human beings can become."

Well, well. There is news for the judge.

Human beings can become even more cruel and violent than that.

An iron bar can kill a man. A high-explosive bomb can kill a thousand. An atom bomb can kill a hundred thousand. And the latest H-bombs, we are told, can kill several millions.

But for these large-scale killings, no one is put in the dock. Violence is only deplored when it is not in the interests of the ruling class.

Yet if five years' jail is the fit sentence for injuring one or two other men, what sentence can the workers pass on the capitalist system?

The only possible sentence is total abolition.

## THE PASSING SHOW

### Top people

A new book "Anatomy of Britain," by Anthony Sampson, gives several indications of the wealth of Britain's upper class. On the distribution of wealth, he says:

One recent survey has thrown light on capital wealth. Lydall and Tipping, writing in the Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics in 1961, estimated that the top one per cent of British adults owned 43 per cent of total net capital—whereas in America (in 1954) the top one per cent owned only 24 per cent of personal wealth. The authors estimated that 20,000 people owned more than £100,000, and that their average holding was £250,000. (While at the bottom there are 16 million people with less than £100 each, and an average of £50.)

Mr. Sampson quotes the Ministry of Labour, 1960, figures that 30,000 men and 275,000 women are in private domestic service, among whom (according to one domestic agency) there are 600 butlers. He goes on to quote an estimate of "the cost of service in a well-appointed household":

Butler . . . . .	£500
Two footman at £350 . . . . .	700
Odd man . . . . .	250
Head housemaid . . . . .	300
Two housemaids at £250 . . . . .	500
Cook . . . . .	400
Kitchenmaid . . . . .	250
Lady's maid . . . . .	300
Chauffeur (non-resident) . . . . .	650
Three daily helps at £150 . . . . .	450
	£4300
Keep (residents only) . . . . .	2000
	£6300

If only someone would mention these figures to the Labour Party leaders, they might stop talking about the "social revolution" they are supposed to have put through after the war.

ALWYN EDGAR.

The **WESTERN SOCIALIST**  
Journal for Socialism  
in the  
USA and Canada  
6d monthly

## The Confessions of a Tory MP

CYRIL OSBORNE, Tory MP for Louth since 1945, often blurts out his thoughts on the state of the country without much regard for the embarrassment it must cause to his Party. He is a stockbroker, a company director, and an executive member of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce; he has a special interest in trade and finance.

He is gloomy about the present, and pessimistic about what comes after. Speaking to the staff conference of the Wholesale Textile Association at Oxford on July 9 he struck out in all directions; with force if not always with accuracy, if we judge by the report in the *Times*: "The Western capitalist system," he said, is facing its gravest crisis since 1931, and "the communist powers" are not in better shape.

He found that in most countries excess manufacturing capacity has been built up in many basic industries, and "no one seemed to know how to increase consumption without starting galloping inflation":

They were all trying to export more and at the same time cut down on imports. President Kennedy was beaten by the problem and Germany's exuberance was slowing down. The whole Common Market is losing its value, while Canada is down and out. Neither Government nor Opposition in this country is sure what is the right answer.

Discounting some exaggeration, Mr. Osborne's description of trade conditions in the Western world is indisputable. There are an increasing number of firms and industries here and across the Atlantic that are working far below capacity; not because they could not expand output by getting more workers out of the hundreds of thousands of job-seekers, but because they can't find enough buyers who will offer profitable prices for their products. In some big industries, coal and railways, ship-building and aircraft production, the number of jobs is falling as sales decline.

It is a telling point Mr. Osborne makes that the countries are all trying to increase exports while curtailing imports, forgetting that one country's exports are another country's imports. (Mr. Osborne probably does not know that Socialists were making the point before he was born). And Mr. Osborne is at

least getting a little nearer to the truth when he doubts whether the remedy is to be found in the Common Market, or in Kennedy's policies, or in Canadian dreams of greatness, or in the way they run their trade in Russia. According to him, "the communist powers" are anxiously watching to see if we can find the key to the problem.

But first a word or two about Mr. Osborne's personal and Party responsibility. He tells us now that the workers (and "the management") have got to work harder and expect less, and put up with the loss of jobs that will follow the bankruptcy of many inefficient firms and that even so it is uncertain whether recovery can come "without the cruel harshness of an economic slump": in other words, back to the nineteen thirties and the depression years.

He finds the root of the trouble in the outlook of this generation, "that has been told it can vote itself anything it desires." But who told them that if they voted a Conservative Government back into power it meant voting to double the standard of living in this generation, and meant "Prosperity and Peace," and "prosperity and opportunity for all"? Who told the electors in 1959 that 1951, when the Tories came into power, "was a turning point in British history"? Turning away from what to what? Surely it wasn't supposed to mean turning to the grim outlook Mr. Osborne now threatens us with?

And it is transparently clear that Mr. Osborne knows no better than those he slates how to put things right. He wants the workers to work harder and expect less so that prices will be lower and British goods improved in quality. But just as it is impossible for all the world's exports to expand if all the world's imports are being cut—which Mr. Osborne sees—it is likewise impossible to make trading conditions better by having each worker producing more and buying less.

And while British industries are lowering prices and raising quality and producing more, what are the rest of the world's manufacturers supposed to be doing? They will all be chasing the same elusive solution.

But note just how silly Mr. Osborne's solution is. The problem, as stated by

continued bottom next page



### ORGANISATION

Often there seems to be an idea—an entirely erroneous idea in the writer's estimation—that as capitalism (or at least the present phase of capitalism) appears to be drawing to a close, the next step must inevitably be the establishment of Socialism in its stead. There is, therefore, no need, so it is considered, to do anything more than sit with folded hands, waiting for the downfall of capitalist society and the springing up, full-armed, of the new system of society.

It does not actually follow that Socialism will be the outcome of present-day capitalist society. If you have a discontented people, poverty-stricken, degraded by continual toil and suffering into mere human machines, ripe for any change from their present existence of physical and mental penury, you have within that people all the possibilities, not so much of an elevation to a higher type, but rather toward an atavism even more degrading physically, more destructive intellectually, than at present.

The essential thing is, of course, that there should be implanted in the minds of the workers knowledge of the fact that their position as workers must be altered from the present state of slavery to a state wherein they shall be free to order their lives as they may best determine. But this knowledge once having been attained, it then becomes quite as necessary to know how to live. After all, life is not only the eating of good food, the wearing of good clothes, the sheltering in good houses, with a minimum of work and a maximum of leisure. All these things are, or should be, simply the means to an end in themselves.

So it can be seen that the necessity of organisation becomes doubly imperative. Firstly, in order to build up a body of men and women whose main idea shall be the ending of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth. Secondly, that the men and women thus organised may have the opportunity of keeping themselves in touch with every phase of life, thus forming, indeed, an educational centre in the real meaning of the word education.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD  
August 1917



## TOBACCO SMOKING



## The end of the road?

TOBACCO has been known to us for quite a long time, cigarettes not nearly so long, but long enough for the smoking habit to be very well established by the time the Royal College of Physicians issued their report on lung cancer earlier this year. Although it is probably true to say that medicos have never been really happy about the effect of smoking on health, it is only in recent years that they have felt able to pin some of the blame on it at least for stomach irritation, chronic bronchitis, heart attacks, coronary thrombosis, and last but not least—lung cancer.

The Royal College's report *Smoking and Health*, published last March launches a swinging attack on the smoking habit—cigarettes mainly—but it is not the first of its kind. In 1950, Professor Hill and Dr. Doll published results of their first investigation into the incidence of lung cancer in relation to men's smoking habits. Then at the beginning of 1952 the American Cancer Society be-

'Confessions' from previous page

him, is "how to increase consumption" since many industries have excess capacity which will not be used unless consumption is increased and his remedy is that consumption should be decreased! (The workers must "expect less.")

We have to correct one of Mr. Osborne's errors, his belief that no one seems to know how to increase consumption without starting inflation. Socialists know very well how to do this and have been trying to get workers to heed it for a long, long time. All it needs is to bring the production and the consumption together. The world's population needs, and would like, to increase its consumption of all kinds of things by very large amounts. The world's resources of human labour, nature given materials, and machinery, etc., could vastly increase output of the things people want. Let Mr. Osborne tell us why the two should not be brought into direct relationship, with production solely for use without the complexities of buying, selling and profit-making that the Western and Eastern powers agree in supposing to be necessary.

H.

gan a survey of nearly two hundred thousand men between the ages of fifty and seventy. Its grim findings were announced to the American Medical Association convention in 1954.

Tobacco shares fell at the news, but Alistair Cook, writing in *The Manchester Guardian* at the time, was a little hasty when he assumed that it would "... induce profound melancholia or even penury in the American cigarette manufacturers." Sales of tobacco have continued to rise since then, with cigarettes reaching an all time high in 1961. In that year also, there were 22,000 deaths from lung cancer in Great Britain alone.

In the twelve years since the Hill and Doll report there have been similar independent surveys conducted in at least eight countries. All have reached the same broad conclusions, so that the R.C.P. report this year only set the seal really on the impressive weight of evidence which has been building up in the meantime. It is difficult to say at this stage how seriously this latest report will be taken; there is still a very strong social habit to be taken into account. But that is not the whole story. It is really only the fag end.

The tobacco firms are rich and very well established. Some idea can be gained of the persistent money spinner that tobacco is, when it is realised that in this country alone last year £825 million went to the Government in revenue from this source. Almost exactly the cost of the National Health Service, as one noble Lord put it. Which gives us a glimpse of the dilemma facing our rulers—powerful tobacco interests and a huge tax income on the one hand and a rising lung cancer rate on the other.

Maybe they can take some solace from the fact that others before them have had to tread a similar path. Over the centuries since its discovery and the beginning of its use in England, tobacco has been violently attacked and just as stoutly defended, but its consumption has increased and with it the tax yield. Even James I, who campaigned vigorously against the weed in such works as *A Counterblast to Tobacco* (1604) was not slow to slap on an import duty of 6s. 8d. a pound the following year. Some say that James' antagonism toward

tobacco was really an expression of his hatred of Sir Walter Raleigh. Be that as it may, and whatever his original motives for imposing the tax, he was cute enough to realise its possibilities. By 1613, he had rescinded his earlier tax and in 1624 made tobacco a Royal Monopoly.

Nicotiana Tabacum—common tobacco—native of Central and South America, is now grown the world over and accounts for about three-quarters of all that is smoked. It was introduced into Europe about 1530. There is still some dispute over which of the colonists in the time of Hawkins and Drake brought the plant to England. What we can say is that smoking slowly took hold here between 1565 and 1590. Ironical that today it should come under such heavy medical fire, when in those days it was thought to have great curative powers and in many places took root because of this belief.

The first cigarettes known to be manufactured in England were by Robert Gloag in 1856. He opened a factory in Walworth, London. This form of smoking gained rapid popularity (probably because of its comparative cheapness) and the various cigarette firms, familiar to us all, were well established by the turn of the century. Seventeen of them combined in 1902 to form The Imperial Tobacco Company Ltd., as a counter to the threat of American competition. They were strong enough to win the "tobacco war" with the American manufacturer James Buchanan Duke, and secured his withdrawal from the English market.

As the market for tobacco, and particularly cigarettes, expanded, so did the government's interest in it as a source of taxation. This applied even more in times of war. During the first world war, for example, the duty was raised enormously and eventually reached 8s. 2d. a lb., where it remained until 1927 when there was another jump to 8s. 10d. Again, the second world war gave a tremendous fillip to taxation and at the end of it, the duty had reached 35s. 6d. per lb. Successive governments have continued the practice since then.

Which is just about where we came in. All governments have to levy taxes to finance their administration of capitalism's economy, and they are not

particularly worried about where they get them from. Tobacco has been a sure source of income up to now and cigarettes take the brunt of this because they form at least 4/5ths of the tobacco consumed in Britain today. So although strong medical suspicions have been voiced for over ten years, cigarette consumption has continued to rise and the government has continued to cream off some of the profits.

It must be a bit perplexing for our politicians to have to set about discouraging a widespread habit which they have themselves helped to foster in the past. Remember the huge quantities of "fags" distributed free to the forces during the last war, and how they were considered vital in boosting morale? But 22,000 deaths in one year—and the rate still rising—cannot be ignored. Let the tobacco

companies gripe if they like. The more astute capitalist politician will have his eye on the threat to production if the incidence continues to rise. And remember that it is not uncommon in the younger age groups now, the ones who matter so much in the productive scheme of things. That is why the anti-smoking propaganda has been directed so conspicuously at school children, and not old age pensioners.

Just how successful the government's campaign will be is anybody's guess. The smoking habit is certainly well established, but if it threatens the overall interests of the capitalist class they will try to do something about it. What will happen to the tobacco firms then? Some may go broke, but there will be other fields of profitable investment. Labour will be transferred elsewhere, and the

government will start looking in other directions for its taxes.

But by then we shall probably have other problems to worry us anyway. Poor health, after all, is not something for which smoking is solely to blame. Inferior diet, poor working conditions and the sheer strain of modern living are stantly wearing workers down. Add only three of the factors which are con- to that the fact that medical research itself is never very high on the priority list of expenditure, and you have an idea of the magnitude of this problem. To say that it is social is to stress the obvious, and despite the best intentions of the medical profession the task of tackling it can hardly begin until capitalism is well on the way out.

E. T. C.

part 3



## CAPITALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

THE FIRST WORLD WAR gave the West Indies sugar industry a real fillip, but the slumps which followed caused the sugar owners to amalgamate and look for ways of cutting costs—as always, their first thought was to lower wages. Sugar workers were forced to form trade unions to resist the attempts of the sugar owners to depress their already very low standard of living and in 1935 the sugar workers of Antigua went on strike.

Trade unions had already been formed in other industries, notably the oil industry in Trinidad. Blood was shed during riots in the oilfields in 1937. The Trinidad oilworkers' union is strong and well-disciplined: a well-planned strike in 1960 forced some notable concessions from the oil companies in the face of a recession in the oil industry.

There were disorders in other islands, and governments soon realised that it was wise to encourage rather than to hinder the formation of trade unions. To meet the challenge, both from their workers and from rival capitalist groups in other parts of the world, West Indian capitalists joined together in strong amalgamations. Thus were formed the various cane-growers associations, the Banana Producers' Association of Jamaica, the

Trinidad and Tobago Co-operative Citrus Growers' Association, etc.

West Indian leaders on the economic field eventually became political leaders: men like Bradshaw in St. Kitts, Bird in Antigua, Grantley Adams in Barbados, Bustamante and Manley in Jamaica, and Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler (who was behind the 1937 oilfield riots) in Trinidad. Economic struggles, therefore, formed the basis for political struggles, fought mainly on a racial platform with special emphasis on anti-colonialism. These political movements were supported by the utterances of men like Marcus Garvey, a Negro from Jamaica who served his apprenticeship with Booker T. Washington) who eloquently and powerfully advocated during the thirties a Negro "Back to Africa" movement.

Through the energetic action of politicians such as Bustamante, Manley, and Marryshow of Grenada the British Government conceded constitutional reforms, culminating in the formation of the West Indies Federation in 1958. This meant full internal self-government based on universal suffrage in certain islands, the British Government retaining control of defence.

The identification of trade unions with newly emerged governments is fraught

with danger for the West Indian working class. During the recent Trinidad elections, for example, one or two quite large trade-unions held demonstration marches in support of Dr. Williams' Peoples' National Movement party. It may be, however that West Indian workers are too politically sophisticated to be completely taken in by demagogic politicians to the point of surrendering trade union and political advantages won after so many years of struggle.

The wind of change has blown through the West Indies as it has through the African continent: the eagerness with which the Colonial Office has fanned this wind in the British Caribbean towards the formation of the West Indies Federation indicates that the British ruling class would rather deal with a single West Indian Government than with several. But West Indians have apparently proved to be too nationalistic. In a referendum held towards the end of 1961, Jamaica seceded from the Federation, and thus set off the collapse which quickly followed. Now, a looser federation of eight of the islands, including Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands, is in prospect. The present tendency is for unit governments (at least in the British islands and British Guiana)



## Book reviews



**Crime in our Time**, by Josephine Bell.  
*Nicholas Vane*, 21s.

CRIME is a subject that never seems to lose its fascination; one wonders what some of the more sensational newspapers would do without it.

Always a major topic of interest, only a political upheaval or an outstanding sporting event can keep the latest wage snatch or a particularly nasty murder out of the headlines. Many of the Sunday newspapers, as well as certain periodicals, rely on recent crime, or on highly coloured articles which dramatise the crimes of the past. And as if reality were not enough, the cinema and the television screen are there to transport us to a dream world of crime, a dream world in which the criminal is caught with monotonous regularity. One can never understand why they don't pack it up in the first reel.

At the other end of the scale, in the local papers, we find the weekly cavalcade of petty crimes. Largely unnoticed amongst the local news items and the announcements are all the dreary, and sometimes tragic, little affairs that fill the magistrates' courts.

But underneath the sensationalism and the morbid curiosity lies a real and understandable concern with a problem that touches the lives of most people. Many workers such as nightwatchmen, bank workers or postmen are quite liable to be injured or even killed in some sort of raid. Other people may be the victims of gang fights, sexual assaults or other forms of violence. None of these people can be expected to view the subject with clinical detachment. Their fears and their demands for protection are understandable. Feelings run high and find expression in hysterical demands for more violent punishments for the criminal. This is the kind of demand that has become a regular feature of Conservative Party conferences; a demand for more flogging and hanging. These punishments will solve nothing and only serve to cloud the issue even further. Books and articles on the subject are endless, and they are read with avid interest.

The book under review, *Crime In Our*

## CRIME IN OUR TIME

*Time*, by Josephine Bell, who is better known as a writer of detective novels, is an honest and unemotional attempt to review a complicated problem. Much painstaking research has gone into its preparation, and a lot of varied information is contained within its pages. This alone makes it of considerable use to people who are studying this subject. Beginning with an account of one day's crime in London—twenty-four hours selected at random—it covers crime over the last 60 years and then surveys the criminal scene today. A great part of the book is occupied with facts and figures concerning the nature of those offences which the law knows as crimes—the diseases both physical and mental

that can lead to violence and sexual abnormality and the processes of the law itself.

One aspect that is of interest to the Socialist is the growth or decline of different types of anti-social behaviour as the conditions within society change. In crime, as in the capitalist society of which it is just a part, one problem disappears only to give rise to new ones. Agricultural societies may give way to industrial, large towns may replace small, family groupings and loyalties may decline or disappear, but the basic problems of poverty and insecurity remain. This is where we must probe, if we're to find the basic cause of crime in our time.

L. DALE.

## THE GREAT CRASH

WITH THE ECHOES of the recent Wall Street upset still rattling in our capitalists' ears, Penguin Books have chosen a most appropriate moment to re-issue Professor J. K. Galbraith's book on its notorious forerunner.

*The Great Crash*, 1929 (first published in 1954) tells the story of the events that led up to that debacle, of the crash itself, and of its aftermath. In it, Galbraith disposes of a number of popular misconceptions and makes many sound comments about economic crises in particular and the capitalist system in general. He debunks the myth that the whole of the American people were playing the stock market before the crash, calculating that there were no more than a million and a half stockholders all told and that of these less than a million were active speculators. This is as we would expect—the great majority of the working class, then as now, had nothing to spare from their wages to go on stock market speculations.

Galbraith's indictment of the economic experts of the time is damning. With a very few exceptions, they were all car-

ried along on the tide of apparently endless "prosperity." He gives quote after quote to show just how naive and stupid they were: right up to the time the market went into its steepest dive they were still saying that things were "fundamentally sound" and that the worst was over. Only a few days before the catastrophe a Professor Irving Fisher was saying that he expected "the stock market a good deal higher within a few months." Within a month the *New York Times* index of industrial shares had fallen from 542 to 224 and was to drop steadily month after month until in July, 1932, it had reached the fantastic figure of 58. During the same month the U.S. steel industry was down to 12 per cent. of capacity and U.S. steel shares were selling at 22. At the beginning of September they had stood at 262.

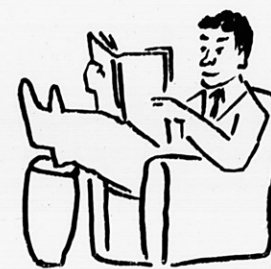
Galbraith reminds us that although the stock market crash was sudden and catastrophic, it was only the prelude to something far worse. After the Great Crash came the Great Depression which was to last in the U.S. for ten years. The dollar

value of production did not get back to the level of 1929 until 1941. In 1933 there were nearly 13 million people out of work or one worker in four. Even in 1938 one worker in five was unemployed and only once, in 1937, did the number of workless drop below eight millions.

A last chapter discusses the possible causes of the crash and very tentatively puts forward some reasons why another might be averted. But these are so tentative as to say virtually nothing—Professor Galbraith has obviously learned from the experiences of his predecessors in 1929 not to commit himself too much when it comes to prophesying what is likely to happen under capitalism.

This aside, the book should nevertheless be in the library of every Socialist as a cheap and comprehensive record of what was one of the most shattering upheavals in modern capitalist history. It should be added that Professor Galbraith tells the story exceedingly well; the style is direct, the wit flows freely, there are many apt comments on capitalism, and he holds the interest throughout.

S. H.

essential reading  
for  
socialist  
understanding

50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

Entertainment  
and Profit

THEATRES, CINEMAS and football clubs have all recently felt the draught as their support and so their receipts fell. Pubs, Restaurants and Dance Halls have gone through the same agony. Where, they must have wondered, have all our supporters, patrons, clients, gone? Surely not all of them are televiewing?

One football club got so worked up about this recently that they took a census to find out the reason for their falling gates. They discovered some of their missing supporters in the strangest of places; in the local shopping centres, fetching and carrying for the wife. The wife, apparently, is at work all week and so she has to buy as much of the week's food as she can in one go on Saturday afternoon. Who can blame her for cutting up rough if the old man wants to enjoy himself watching football while she has to push and shove her heavy laden way through the crowds? So no football, no dozing, no telly even for him.

Of course, there are any number of reasons offered for this. Some say that football, or the theatre, or what-have-you, are not what they used to be. Others say that they are not up to the standard of other countries (how unpatriotic!). And there are those who simply shrug and blame it all onto the telly.

These are at best the superficial reasons for changes in public tastes. To find the basic reason we must look at the motive for the birth and presentation of various types of entertainment. Today, we live in a Capitalist world in which all social endeavour in terms of research, invention, culture, service and work is carried on with the object of returning to the Capitalist more from his business than he puts into it. This is assured by the simple method of allowing the working class, who produce all the wealth, to receive only a part of it in their wages. But, sometimes, as we know, there is no profit in certain lines of business. One industry may be undermined by the development of a cheap substitute for its product. Another will fail because it cannot stand the pace of competition. So they decline, sometimes washed down with crocodile tears in the City columns.

The entertainment industry is no ex-

ception to this rule. It, too, must have its profits—and it is often not too particular how it gets them. Jazz clubs, dance halls and coffee bars are not worried whether the working class teenagers who keep them going are missing their homework, or skipping evening classes, to do so. Publicans would rather see us drinking in their bars than attending a Political or Trade Union meeting, or a lecture on archaeology if it comes to that. And entertainment, with its various branches vying with each other for our custom, must keep producing the novel and alleged improvements to keep us interested.

Yet however interested we become, we can never avoid the fact that the biggest and best part of our day is spent in being exploited in the factory or the office to make huge fortunes for the lucky shareholders. This does not leave much time to enjoy our entertainment, however good or bad it may be.

J. McG.

continued from page 125

## CAPITALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

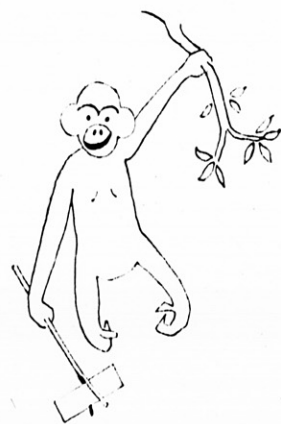
to try to go it alone. Political leaders in the larger islands such as Jamaica and Trinidad, (the only really economically viable island in the Federation, are reluctant for sizeable proportions of taxes realised in their islands to be utilised by a Federal Government to assist the poorer, smaller, islands' economy, when the money could be used in development projects in their own countries.

Whatever the ultimate outcome, whether it be in terms of a host of small units trying to go it alone or of varying degrees of federation, the problems of the West Indian worker wherever he is will be basically the same as those of his fellows in other parts of the world. He is, unfortunately, no more seized with the ideas of Socialism than his counterparts elsewhere, but sooner or later he will find that these ideas are the only ones worth considering in his search for an end to his present poverty and insecurity and for a better and happier future.

M.L.

CONCLUDED





## News from the Branches

Good news from **Glasgow** Branch which is going strong propounding Socialism to workers in Scotland. Eleven outdoor meetings were held in June, three of them in Edinburgh. Audiences averaged 100 and literature sales totalled £5. A collection of £3 was taken at an indoor meeting and £5 at the outdoor ones. Average attendances of members was nine.

**Swansea** Branch held a successful debate with the Liberal Party represented by R. Gool. The SPGB representative our comrade Harris gave a critical survey of the history of the Liberals demonstrating how their reformist policy was of no value to the working-class, and that there was no alternative to Socialism if workers wanted a better way of life. The Liberal attacked the idea of the "class-war" and belittled the Party because it was small and therefore ineffective. He argued that the Liberals were concerned with "day-to-day" issues and gave a list of reforms which he claimed would solve all the problems of the British. Good questions were put from an attentive audience who were clearly sympathetic to the Socialist case. Literature sales, 16s. and a promise was made by a member of the audience to donate her late father's books by Marx and Engels. More indoor meetings are planned especially in view of the interest shown at this debate.

**Coventry** Group have linked up with **Birmingham** Branch to conduct propaganda meetings in the Midlands, the first of which was held in June. This lasted for two hours with an audience never below 100

and at times 200. Other meetings will be held in Coventry and surrounding towns. SS subscribers have been notified of future meetings. The local library ban on the SS has been lifted as from June.

The newly formed **Bromley** Group is already very active busily canvassing the constituency with introductory leaflets and following up with sales of the SS and are finding the method very successful. Comrade May addressed a meeting at the local library. Advertising was made by handbills and posters. (Poor positions were chosen by the bill-posters so members quickly placed more in prominent positions). A van literally covered with posters for the meeting was placed in a busy shopping area on a Saturday. The same was intended on the Monday but was met by a police reception committee. A challenging letter in the local press failed to evoke any response from the Colossi to whom it referred. A contingent of CND supporters attended the meeting and were challenged to debate. Socialist Standards and pamphlets were sold and a collection of £2 taken and a report appeared in the local press. A lively and very promising start.

**Bloomsbury** Branch have sadly learned of the death of Nat Posner, who had been ill for some time. A member for over twenty years, he had known and supported the Party a long time and had interested workers in Socialism for more than forty years. Some of these joined the Party thirty years ago becoming very active in propaganda work. Originally working as a group at their place of work they sold thousands of Socialist Standards and pamphlets and took regular weekly collections for the Party from sympathisers over a period of years. Thus, our comrade Posner by quietly and patiently convincing others, set off a chain of socialist activity. He was a frequent chairman at outdoor meetings especially at Hyde Park; a consistent and staunch member, he will be missed.

P.H.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

## Meetings

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd.,  
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6.  
Mondays, 8.15 pm.

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1.

Wednesday August 1st, 9 pm

**THE IRRATIONAL MENTALITY**  
Speaker: I. Jones.

Please note: This is the last meeting at the above address, for new address see the branch directory on page 114.

### WEMBLEY LECTURES

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Wembley.  
Mondays, 8 pm

August 13th

**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: S. Michael.

### NOTTINGHAM MEETINGS

Sundays,  
Old Market Square, 7 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
Rose Street, 7.30 pm

Sundays  
West Regent Street, 7.30 pm.

Saturdays  
Exchange Square, 3 pm.

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Every Sunday  
The Mound

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth.  
August 5th & 26th (11 am)  
12th (1 pm)  
19th (noon)  
Clapham Common, 3 pm

Thursdays  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8.30 pm  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

Saturdays  
Rushcroft Road, 8 pm



# **SOCIALIST STANDARD**

---

What is needed is not more laws and regulations to restrict capitalism's freedom of action in the market, but the abolition of a system of society that works through the Market; having in its place production solely for use, so that there will be no-one against whom consumers will need to be protected.

page 135

THE MOLONEY REPORT

## **THE FARCE OF CONSUMER PROTECTION**

MACMILLAN CHANGES  
NOTHING

page 133

THE PASSING SHOW

page 140

IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMICS

page 141



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e. land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th Sept.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th Sept. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 06X 1950) and 21st Sept. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCELES** 2nd Monday (10th Sept.) in month 7.30 pm, 1 Lowry House, Church Street, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (3rd and 17th Sept.) 7.30pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (12th Sept.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 8 Swains Avenue, Carlton Road.

**PADDINGTON** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (Sept. 11th and 25th) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd and 17th Sept.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th and 27th Sept.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 5 Seymour Gardens, Ilford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th Sept.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham. Meeting resuming in September.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

*New Reprint of*

# ART, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

by WILLIAM MORRIS

with a modern reassessment by  
the Socialist Party

First published by the SPGB in 1907

ORDER FROM SPGB PRICE 1/- (POST 3d EXTRA)

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NEWS IN REVIEW	132
Nuclear Shelters	
Independent Jamaica	
Thalidomide Babies	
MACMILLAN CHANGES NOTHING	133
LAND TAX	134
THE FARCE OF CONSUMER PROTECTION	135
CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA	137
WHO WANTS AN INCOME POLICY?	139
THE PASSING SHOW	140
IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMICS	141
THE JAMAICAN SCENE	142
GOOD MAN GONE WRONG	143
BRANCH NEWS & MEETING	144

## FASCISM AND IGNORANCE

Once again, there is a demand that the Fascists in this country should be legally banned. This demand comes most strongly from what we can loosely call the Left Wing. A legal ban was their answer to the Fascists before the last war; they are, it seems, always wanting to ban something. It is no surprise that, as soon as the Fascists come in for some unnecessary publicity, the Left turn their attention momentarily from the bomb to the Blackshirts.

It is easy to see why the Left Wing, which mistakenly regards itself as consisting of democratic socialists, is so often eager to try to ban some other organisation's ideas. They have always firmly embraced the idea of leadership, by which they mean leadership of the working class to some vaguely defined destination by some dubiously knowledgeable Left Wing politicians.

An essential of the leadership theory is the political ignorance of the unlucky people who are to be led. Leadership, in fact could not exist without blind and ignorant followers. The followers, reason the leaders, cannot be trusted to resist the temptations of race hate and totalitarianism. It is a waste of time to try to educate them. Like children who are kept away from a case of chicken-pox, the working class must be quarantined from the infection of fascist ideas.

Like any other favourite Left Wing theory, this one starts off on the wrong foot and never recovers from it. The working class do not need any more leaders to decide what ideas they may and may not come into contact with. Capitalism is full of leaders, pulling this way and that and all achieving nothing towards the solution of our problems. It is high time for the working class to wake up from their slumbers.

It is high time for them to get some knowledge of capitalism. They need to know how capitalism works. Why it breeds ugly and destructive ideas like Fascism. Why it can never solve its own problems. Why its leaders are powerless to staunch its course.

This need is as great today as ever. Racist theories, with their vicious fallacies, are as active in the world as ever. In other fields there is the same depressing story. The endless saga of the test ban negotiations drags on, with both sides making offers which are transparently insincere. The disarmament conference has dissolved again in the usual muddle and exasperation. There is an excuse for anyone who thinks that capitalism is efficient only when it is being destructive.

There are other examples of the unpleasant prospect with which capitalism faces us. Whoever climbs into leadership, and whatever ideas they may try to proscribe, will make no difference. Capitalism will keep producing the evidence of its own contradictions and inhumanities.

There is only one way of cutting through the confusion. The future of society rests in the hands of the people who make it and organise it. The working class of the world can decide whether the waste and destruction of capitalism shall continue.

At the moment ignorance is in charge and capitalism rolls on. But when the working class have woken up, when they have realised that false ideas can only be answered with knowledge, when they have decided that they do not need leaders to run their lives and their ideas for them, capitalism will stop rolling. For the working class will also have realised that Socialism is the answer to the problems of property society.





## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### Nuclear Shelters

This bit in the *Observer* it slays us all, it's so funny. Listen, it's about a retired army general and he's living in East Devon, so you know that something real humorous is coming up.

This general, he's got the bug about nuclear war. He's even written a book about survival after they've dropped the H-bomb. Written it for the people of East Devon. Doesn't that make you laugh?

Listen, there's more. He wants us to keep water in vinegar bottles. Non-returnable ones, of course—there's nothing dishonest about the general. Then he says we should fill up bits of furniture with earth. Yes, furniture. Fill them up and make a dug-out from them.

By now we're rolling on the floor.

Then we stop rolling because we've suddenly asked ourselves why. And this bit in the *Observer* it says the general's written this book because he knows that most people can't afford an expensive shelter against nuclear bombs.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

So we stop laughing. And we wonder. We wonder at a world which has built itself bombs which are powerful enough to wipe out whole cities—even whole countries. A world where most people can't even afford to get themselves a decent shelter against fall-out.

So maybe that general guy's nuts, filling his sideboard with earth. So maybe he's only a little bit of a world that's so crazy it's got its priorities and its motives right upside down.

So maybe the people of the world are crazy. They accept all this and they keep the whole show running, don't they? And aren't they the ones to stop it all?

Hey there, N poleon. Shake hands with the general.

### Independent Jamaica

The short-lived West Indies Federation was regarded by some people as a great advance for the West Indian worker. They ignored the fact that capitalism would work on the Federation just as it works on the world outside.

Sure enough, it was a dispute over which territory should hold the economic and political reins which broke the Federation. When that happened it seemed fairly obvious that the richer and more powerful islands would go for their independence alone.

Now Jamaica is an independent state, born with all the barney of bands and festivals and speeches. Inevitably, God has been recruited to the side of capitalist independence. There was a thanksgiving service to mark the occasion in Westminster Abbey.

So Jamaica is free now to make her own way in capitalism's dangerous seas. All the familiar problems of property society will harass her government. They must struggle to safeguard her markets for bauxite, tobacco, rum, sugar and bananas. They must build up the island's armed forces, in case some other power threatens Jamaica's economic interests.

And they must sell all this to the Jamaican worker, who will vote them in

and out of power under their new constitution. The island is notorious for its poverty, its slums and its diseases of malnutrition. That is why so many of its people come to seek what they hope will be a better life as a wage-slave in Britain—although this did not prevent them celebrating the independence of the island which gave them so miserable an existence.

Up to now the nationalists could easily blame the troubles of the Jamaican workers upon the shortcomings of British rule. It should soon become obvious that this was worth no more than any other vote-catching nonsense and that the problems cannot be cured by replacing British masters with Jamaicans.

This will be a moment of truth for Jamaica.

If the new government is anything like the other capitalist administrations all over the world they will face it with lies, evasion and sometimes suppression.

### Thalidomide Babies

It is not enough merely to say that the thalidomide babies are an awful tragedy. It is not enough, even, to help these tragic mites with artificial limbs and patient training.

We should be asking ourselves why so harmful a drug was so freely administered; why so many sedatives, stimulants, tranquilisers and the like are dished out in such quantities.

Pregnant women, like many sick people, often have trouble with their sleep. Sometimes this is a straightforward inability to drop off and in such cases there is a case for using a sedative. But in many cases it is only a difficulty in sleeping at the same time as the rest of us, whose sleeping and waking times are geared to the requirements of working class existence.

This difficulty need not be serious enough to need a sedative. The expectant mother can simply sleep during the day, or whenever else she feels the need.

But what if she, too, is tied to the regularity of working class life? What if she

has to go out to work to help keep up the payments on a mortgage or on a hire-purchase buy? What if she has other children and, like all working class wives, cannot afford a nurse to look after them?

This is where the sedatives come in. It is easier to give the patient a dose

of something than to get to the root of her trouble. The handier to use, the easier to administer, the briefer its side-effects, the more popular the sedative becomes and the more freely it is given.

And that is where thalidomide came in. Is there a lesson in this for us?

## Macmillan changes nothing

WE HAVE BEEN here before. There is no novelty in Government changes, even if they are in one big purge at the top, as Mr. Macmillan has just pushed through. *Punch* greeted the news with a reprint of a cartoon which showed a shelf full of discarded top ministers from the Balfour government of 1905. Clement Attlee was always liable to make important changes and in some of them won for himself a reputation for ruthlessness.

In one of his reshuffles he called to Ten Downing Street a minor minister who was generally accepted to be running his department satisfactorily. The minister left smiling brightly and the newspapers decided that Attlee had called him only to say, "Well done—carry on." In fact, the minister had been brusquely sacked and was never seen on the front benches again.

This may have been typical of Attlee's handling of his men, but it does not fit in with the popular conception of Macmillan. Up to his last purge the Tory premier had stuck to some of his men through thick and thin. When the responsible minister offered to resign after the shake-up over the Portland spy case, Macmillan refused to let him go. He has stood by Selwyn Lloyd under the opposition's fiercest fire, answering criticism with promotion. This had given Macmillan a reputation for personal loyalty to his ministers.

So we have had a lot of nonsense from the press, who like us to think that the men who run British capitalism are affected in their work by sentiments like loyalty and friendship. There is a certain grim humour in this. Politicians, after all, are the men who must try to hold down our wages, decide to explode bombs which they know will release lethal fall out, declare war which they know will kill hundreds of thousands of people. And while they are doing all this, they must justify it by telling us that it is done in our interests.

So politicians must be hard and cynical and ruthless. They must be cold liars. They must be calculating mass killers. It is too much to believe that they are also the sort of men who will regret sacking a colleague because he went to Eton with them, or because he once took on one of capitalism's dirtier jobs for them.

The men who are at the head of capitalism's affairs are very remote from the rest of us. It is, therefore, difficult to discover the reasons for government changes, but we can discuss one or two aspects of them. Were the changes intended to reinvigorate the government? It is a popular delusion that a vigorous minister who runs a better department means a better life for us all. *The Guardian* plugged that line in 1950, when it thought the Labour government was tired and in need of a rest. It thinks something like that about the Tory government today. It may be that an energetic minister is better at his job than one who has been broken by years of trying to solve capitalism's insolubles. But nobody has yet demonstrated that an energetic and efficient administration of capitalism benefits its people. Problems like bad housing and slumps and wars persist in capitalism, whoever may try his hand at getting rid of them. Sometimes, in fact, they can transform an energetic minister into one who is washed out. They did this to Anthony Eden. Sometimes they can break an entire government, as they did the Labour administration in 1951.

This goes, too, for the theory that young men make better ministers than old men. This theory is beloved in many places—perhaps most strongly among young workers, who hope that a young minister understands their problems. This was one of the themes on which Kennedy took power in the United States. Yet the facts shoot the theory full of holes. Young men who have risen fast in the government—men like Anthony Eden, Harold Wilson and Hugh

Whatever the truth of the controversy over drugs and medicines, of one thing we can be sure. The question should be settled in terms of human interests. But as long as capitalism lasts this will never happen.

Gaitskill—have shown no more skill than their older counterparts in taking capitalism's hurdles. It cannot even be said for them that they have brought any especial benefits to young people. They have, for example, always eagerly supported the wars in which young men are pushed into the extremities of danger and suffering. In fact, young ministers have run capitalism, as best they may, no better and no worse than old ministers have run it.

Perhaps the Macmillan purge was designed to improve what is called the image of the government—its appearance before the doubtful electors. A government's image is important; in some cases it wins or loses them votes. Yet in one way the changes do nothing to help the government's image. For the image must be a successful one. And can a government which has had to be put through a shattering change be described as successful? Perhaps there are different interpretations of the word. Up to the last moment the government were assuring us that Selwyn Lloyd was successful, that his policies were correct and that he was administering them firmly and wisely. What sort of an image has Lloyd, now?

We could go on like this for a very long time; the politics of capitalism are full of double dealing, lies and worse. But let us consider the reshuffle from the point of view of the people who are meant to be impressed by it; the people who vote governments in and out; the people who keep capitalism running; the working class. For them, what are the changes worth?

In a word: Nothing. We have been here before and we have seen it all before. Governments have come and gone, been reshuffled, turned upside down, inside out and up the right way again. Prime Ministers have been ousted and replaced. The governing party itself has been changed. Through it all the same old problems have kept nagging at us.



Many workers who decided in 1945 that the Tories were a pack of played out, hard-faced men, were disappointed at the Labour Party's efforts to do better. Whatever changes are made in any government's personnel the results are roughly the same.

There need be no mystery about this. Governments run capitalism. And capitalism will keep throwing up economic troubles, personal insecurity, international disputes and the rest, as long as it exists. Whoever is in charge of any particular ministry can have no effect upon these problems. Foreign secretaries have failed to remove war from capitalism. Chancellors have not been able to budget poverty out of existence. Housing ministers have been baffled by slums.

The evidence of the past says that this is true. So does the evidence of the present. One of the brightest stars to rise in the recent reshuffle is Sir Keith Joseph, who is now the Minister of Housing and Welsh Affairs. This man seems to have everything. Educated at Harrow and Oxford. A beautiful home, a lovely wife. Oozing with culture and knowledge. The top papers rushed to eulogise him and to tell us how lucky we are to be bossed by somebody like the elegant Sir Keith. One of them, carried away, described him as man who offers his opinions like fine sherry served on a silver platter.

Now what sort of sherry has Sir Keith to offer on the housing question, which nags and depresses and desolates so many workers? This is how *The Guardian*, on August 1st last, reported his contribution to the House of Commons debate on the homeless in London:

The remedy was more new houses. At first he wondered if slum clearance could be stopped, but when one realised the condition of some of these slums, Cable Street, Stepney, for instance, no Government would wish to stop their clearance,

however bad the housing shortage . . . "That is undoubtedly what we need, more low-cost housing in London, and my purpose is to try to help the L.C.C. and other authorities, and private enterprise, to achieve just this."

*The remedy is more new houses!* Not a very original conclusion—we have been hearing it for as long as there has been a housing problem. At the same time, we have also been hearing why capitalism cannot get around to building enough new houses; they can't be afforded, or must take their turn in the queue behind armaments. We'll be hearing the same from Sir Keith, before long.

*Wondering if slum clearance can be stopped!* Here, perhaps, is one solution to the housing question. But it can be extended. Has Sir Keith wondered about housing workers in caves, or in disused coal mines? There are going to be more of these going soon and some of them are probably better than Cable Street.

*We need more low-cost housing!* In other words, if the working class are to be housed they need more cheap, poky, substandard, working class homes. If they are to be cleared out of today's slums, tomorrow's must be ready to receive them.

This is what we are invited to accept as rare sherry on a silver platter. Sir Keith Joseph may be a charming, cultured, educated man. But capitalism has him beaten and fumbling, just as it has the people who vote for it and who don't need an expensive education to do so.

Yes, we have been here before and we shall be here again. Because capitalism keeps throwing up the same problems and bringing us back to the same realities. It is like a nightmarish roundabout, driven by nonsense and ballyhoo and simple lies.

IVAN.

## Autumn

# DELEGATE MEETING

Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4

Saturday October 6th 2-6pm

Sunday October 7th 11am-1pm, 2pm-6pm



## LAND TAX

At a time when the toilers are engaged in a bitter struggle with the employers, the Liberals are busy diverting attention to the "wicked landlords" and their "unearned increment." The dockers being "done down" by a Devonport, are told to tax land values. The miners, vainly seeking 5s. a day, are urged to support the Single Tax idea. The railway men, cursing Conciliation, are advised to levy the ducal landlords.

The Land Tax campaign serves the Liberal manufacturers well. Labour unrest is exploited to turn the minds of the workers away from the real question to the old bogey of taxing land. The policy of smothering men's bitter feelings against the Devonports, Thomas's, and Hugh Bells, has, however, a more palpable and material driving force behind it. Hence we note from the Liberal Press that a wealthy and influential committee has been formed to boom the Land Tax campaign.

Mr. Joseph Fels, the well-known soap manufacturer, has contributed £30,000, and many others have given largely. Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, the Liberal pottery manufacturer, is one of the leading spirits in the movement.

Hirelings are sent about the country at great expense, preaching the virtues of the Single Tax.

But why this enormous expenditure? Why this outcry about taxation? Once the worker grasps the true facts of the question of taxation, the campaign and its real meaning become plain. The upkeep of this system of society calls for hundreds of millions a year to support the services that must be run to ensure the safety of our masters.

The cost of the Army, Navy, Police, and bureaucracy is ever rising, and the manufacturers and business men—chiefly organised in the Liberal party—are crying out about their heavy burden of taxation. Wishing to divide the cost of those forces and institutions necessary to keep the workers down, they propose to tax land or land values. The landowners, on the other hand, have no desire to be taxed further, hence their bitter wail.

This time honoured squabble as to who should pay is but one between robbers over the cost of the robbery.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,  
September 1912.

## The Moloney Report

IN 330 pages and over 150,000 words the team of eleven men and women who signed the final report of the Moloney committee on Consumer Protection made recommendations about ways of securing that the things people buy shall be a little nearer to what they want and what the makers and sellers claim them to be.

The Committee made a large number of observations and recommendations, the most important of the latter category being the proposal to set up a 12-man Consumer Council "to devise and advance" the means of resolving the problems of consumers. But the Council is not itself to prepare test reports on articles offered for sale, or receive complaints or take proceedings. Its chief functions are to get information about consumer's problems, determine what can be done and give advice and guidance through Citizen's Advice Bureaux and other organisations and by its own publications. It all sounds very vague and ineffective. Other recommendations are that whatever protection is now given by hire-purchase law shall no longer be limited to transactions worth less than £300, but shall be extended (taking in cars and caravans), and that misleading descriptions of articles offered for sale shall be made more difficult by tightening up the administration of the Merchandise Marks Acts and widening their scope to all classes of goods.

At the time of writing the Government has not announced its intention about the recommendations, only undertaking to "study the reactions of all parties affected before finally concluding what we should do."

What is more interesting than the details of the Committee's recommendations is what they did not do, and the principle on which they worked.

If buyers in great numbers complain that they are being misled or defrauded by sellers it would seem that two lines of action would theoretically be open to a Committee set up to solve the problem; to place legal restrictions on the

# THE FARCE OF CONSUMER PROTECTION

freedom of action of sellers, or to abolish the buyer-seller relationship. The latter is the solution inherent in establishing a Socialist system of society and was not even thought of by the Committee. The Committee, however, managed to find a third solution, which is to allow the sellers to behave as at present, but to encourage the buyers to show more aggressive resistance. So the *Economist*, in its issue of July 28th, after an implied approval of what it calls "slick American style selling," blames the 15 million British housewives for not standing up to it, and hopes that with more information and advice they will be encouraged to do so:

This is why it was so important that the Moloney report . . . should get its balance of recommendations just right. The right precept is full free speech for the advertiser and salesman, but also full free speech (and sufficient detailed information) against them. In the event the Moloney committee severely avoids being anti-salesman, but seems not quite sufficiently radically pro-consumer.

## Quality goods

No doubt the Government will implement parts of the Moloney recommendations and if the Labour Party, with or without association with the Liberals, becomes the Government after the next election, it is certain that they will do much the same. It is equally certain that the problem will not be solved, nor even stated. Neither this Committee nor the earlier Committees that ploughed the same field, nor any of the Party spokesmen and newspapers that have offered alternative proposals have got as far as admitting why these deceitful practices go on, much less accepting the logical conclusion that there is only one way to end them.

There is a question that could be asked. In a world in which technically

it would be possible to produce and distribute only first-class articles, not needing false deceptions and high power salesmanship to make them acceptable, why do the producers and distributors put out so much that is inferior and cheap and known to be so by the purchasers, and so much that is, in addition, dressed up to look better than it is? The manufacturers have a simple answer to the first part of the question. What would be the use, they would say, of producing masses of good quality articles that the majority of the population could not afford to buy. It is the poverty problem of every country in the world today—one standard of quality and quantity for the rich few, and another for the poor majority, and none of the governments are concerned to put an end to this situation. We also have to accept that many workers still regard it as natural and inevitable—like the workers rebuilding the Prime Minister's residence at 10, Downing Street, who told a *Guardian* correspondent:

There should be a sense of achievement on a job like this—doing something exceptional, you know. Another added. It's not just a housing estate after all—you can't just bung it up.

(27 March 1962.)

These workers probably themselves live in just such a bunged-up estate.

The other aspect—the adulterations, the false descriptions, the petty cheating, is in a different category and a complex one for those who govern. It can hit the rich shopper as well as the poor one, and while some manufacturers are prepared to legislate to limit it, others want it left alone. Their interests are divided and only pettifogging "remedies" are possible. Some manufacturers of high-quality, high-cost, articles would be happy to see the advertising carried on by their mass producing rivals curbed; and the latter would favour laws against the swindling activities of cheap-jack competitors who undersell them: but how is



this to be done without hampering the normal business in which they are all engaged, that of making profit?

The dilemma they face here is closely paralleled by the problem of placing limits on the exploitation of the workers. All capitalist profit flows from the exploitation of the workers, so there is a common interest in continuing it, but if particular groups of employers carry exploitation to extremes by child labour, excessive hours, dangerous and insanitary factories, it undermines the health of the workers (not to mention their fitness to be soldiers) and damages the profit interest of the whole class of exploiters.

So also in the field of legal restrictions on the sale of defective and misrepresented goods. Committees of inquiry expose the evils (like the one that sat just over a century ago), then the interested parties squabble about the minimum of legislation they are prepared to enact.

## SOCIALIST STANDARD 1962

### Subscription form

To SPGB Literature Dept  
52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4

6 issues 4/6 post free

12 issues 8/- post free

Send me

Socialist Standard  
for the next issues

I enclose s d

Name

Address

Those at the back cry forward and those at the front cry back! While Jean Robertson in the *Sunday Telegraph* (29/7/62) criticises the Molony Committee, the *Guardian* (26/7/62), while admitting for being too timid, and points out that "while we were waiting for Molony, four modest consumer Bills introduced by private members were killed off in his mitting that some of the existing regulations under the Merchandise Marks Act "are enforced slackly or not at all" goes on to plead the traditional businessman's case against legal restrictions: "There is much to be said against attempts to interfere administratively with too many points in the complicated business of distribution."

### Adulteration

The problem examined by the Molony Committee is not new, though in earlier times it went by the cruder name of adulteration, and this time the scope of the inquiry was expressly limited. The Committee confined itself to private consumers, cutting out the sale of goods to manufacturers, farmers and traders. Nor did it include services, though admitting there is much complaint about such work as the repair of radio and television sets. It excluded food and drugs on the ground that these are covered by the Food and Drugs Act, 1955, and excluded the nationalised power industries (except the sale of solid fuels) mainly because in these industries functions and relationship to the public have been determined as a matter of government policy. They admitted that they heard much complaint about prices being excessive, but decided against making recommendations because it would be difficult and costly to fix prices and in any event "vigorous competition" makes price control unnecessary. They fell back on the good old myth of the capitalist economists that the consumer has "wide freedom of choice" and this is his best protection. (Paragraph 6.)

As already remarked, the problem of adulteration is not new. The 1950 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in an article under that heading divides it into three types, the intentional palming off of an inferior article, the addition of injurious ingredients, and the deliberate or negligent use of contaminated or deteriorated material not necessarily injurious. Having produced evidence that such practices existed from the earliest historical times the article smugly avoids inquiry into their precise causes with the remark that "adulteration of the first kind is probably as old as human

greed itself," which, of course, adds nothing to our knowledge.

The *Encyclopædia* writer did, however, throw light on a development that explains why the Molony Committee became necessary and the form its inquiries took:

... as the rise of the factory gradually took the manufacturing of many foods out of the home, and away from the farm and the village, the forms of adulteration became at once more invidious, more numerous and more difficult of detection. The proof of the pudding was no longer in the eating, but in the laboratory.

This development has extended to all sorts of products, not only foods: in our century it is not enough for the buyer "to beware," he now must have at his disposal expert knowledge and means of elaborate testing.

For the economic background we must turn to Marx for more enlightenment about adulteration. In Volume I of *Capital* (Chapters VI, X and XXIV) he reproduced from the reports of committees of inquiry over a century ago numerous examples of the widespread practice of adulterating foodstuffs, medicines and other articles, and showed how the demand for laws against adulteration of bread came from bakers themselves: they saw their trade being ruined through the lower prices charged by their adulterating rivals.

### The moral

But unlike the *Encyclopædia*, which avoided seeking the real cause and took refuge in a sort of original sin, the greed of the human race, Marx pin-pointed it in the class structure of capitalist society, which functions through the exploitation of one class by another and by the necessity of making profit:

This fanatic love of the capitalist for profit is expressed . . . by the adulteration of the elements of production, which is one of the principal means of reducing the value of the constant capital in comparison with the variable capital, and thus raising the rate of profit.

(*Capital* Vol. III Page 100.)

The moral of this ought to be obvious—though not to government committees. What is needed is not more laws and regulations to restrict capitalism's freedom of action in the market, but the abolition of a system of society that works through the Market; having in its place production solely for use, so that there will be no-one against whom consumers will need to be protected.

H.

## CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA



## The Soviet State PART 2

THE RUSSIAN STATE is powerful. Russian workers would be the first to agree with this, for their dependence upon the State as their employer is the measure of the State's power over them. Again, the Communists may not agree that there is anything undesirable in this, but what did Lenin write about it in his book *State and Revolution*? "While the State exists there is no freedom, when there will be freedom there will be no state."

There cannot be much of Lenin's sort of freedom in Russia today, when the State has its fingers in every pie. Consider, for example, the Twenty Year Plan, recently published (Moscow, 1961) amidst much clamour, which promised free housing, transport and food to the Russian workers sometime between now and 1980. When this programme (a better word for it than "Plan") is stripped of the ballyhoo, there is no difficulty in seeing it for what it is—a familiar document of Capitalism.

In *Management of the National Economy and Planning*, the statement: "The sphere of material production is the main sphere in the life of society" is the key to the situation which is illustrated by the following quotations:

The Party attaches prime importance to the more effective investment of capital, the choice of the most profitable and economical trends in capital construction, achievement everywhere of the maximum growth of output per invested rouble, and reduction of the time-lapse between investment and return. It is necessary continuously to improve the structure of capital investments and to expand that portion of them which is spent on equipment, machinery and machine tools. (Page 71).

It is necessary for enterprises to play a substantially greater part in introducing the latest machinery. (Page 73).

These passages leave no doubt that the Soviet government is as much concerned as any of its counterparts with the need to accumulate capital. And capital accumulation, let us remember, means capitalism. It means Capitalism in Great

Britain and the U.S.A.—and the U.S.S.R.

How is the Russian worker to be persuaded to pull his weight in making "more effective use of capital investment" and the rest? Why, in just the same way as the British or American worker is sometimes persuaded:

In the process of Communist construction economic management will make use of material and moral incentives for high production figures. (Page 73).

And to do all this, there is the intricate machinery of checkers and chasers, money grubbers and ledger slaves, all being urged to work harder and better:

There must be a continuous improvement in rate setting, the system of labour payments and bonuses, in the financial control over the quantity and quality of work, in the elimination of levelling, and the stimulation of collective forms of incentives raising the interest of each employee in the high efficiency of the enterprise as a whole. It is necessary in communist construction to make full use of commodity-money relations in keeping with their new meaning in the Socialist period. In this, such instruments of economic development as cost accounting, money, prices, production costs, profit, trade, credit and finance play a big part. (Page 74).

The only reference to Communist society in this section is as follows:

When the transition to one Communist form of peoples' property and the Communist system of distribution is completed, commodity-money relations will become economically outdated and will wither away. (Page 74).

This is not explained until the next section of the programme:

The task will be effected by (a) raising the individual payments of working people according to the quantity and quality of their work, coupled with reduction of all retail prices and abolition of taxes paid by the people; (b) increase of the public funds distributed among members of society irrespective of the quantity and quality of their labour, that

is, free of charge, (education, medical treatment, pensions, maintenance of children at children's institutions, transition to cost-free use of public amenities, etc.) (Page 75).

This list is amplified later to cover housing, public services, public transport, holiday homes, public catering (mid-day meals).

### Taxes

The programme may be ponderously worded, but its implied promises to abolish taxes, reduce prices and make public amenities free, are the stuff which wins by-elections in countries like England. Apart from that, what are they worth? The "abolition of taxes paid by the people" is only possible where the State is the sole realiser of surplus value, so that it can utilise part of the surplus for the running of the public services. Talk of "free services" is misleading and meaningless, because either the State has to pay the workers in wages to cover these services, or provide them directly, which may be cheaper because it can centrally plan and allocate expenditure. The State can budget more or less exactly because it knows that its expenditure is to be taken from existing and known funds, and not from an unknown income, such as fares payments, gas and electricity consumption.

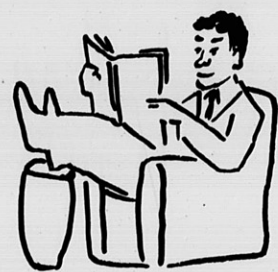
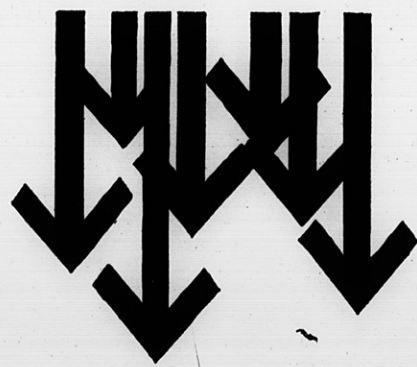
Every "free" State service is a cost to the State as a whole. The plan for public catering, connected as it is to the prices the Soviet State must pay to the collective farms (*Kolkhozes*), is obviously meant to be financed in part, at any rate, in this way:

It is essential that the level of state purchasing prices encourages the *Kolkhozes* to raise labour productivity and reduce production expenses, since greater farm output and lower production costs are the basis of greater incomes for the *Kolkhozes*. (Page 68).



Now the main part of production expenses is made up of wages, so that if this section means anything, it is that the Russian farm workers will be expected to produce more for the same pay. A finer example of capitalist sophistry would be hard to find. This applies, too, on the industrial field:

Technical progress and better production organisation must be fully utilised to increase labour productivity and reduce production costs at every enterprise. This implies a higher rate of increase in labour productivity as compared with



## essential reading for socialist understanding

Capitalist-Worker-Class Struggle	4d.
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

remuneration, better rate fixing, prevention of loss of working time, and operation on a profitable basis in all sectors of production. (Page 62).

Anyway, prices are only to come down (if at all) under certain circumstances:

Prices must, to a growing extent, reflect the socially-necessary outlays of labour, ensure return of production and circulation expenditures and a certain profit for each normally operating enterprise. Systematically, economically justified price reductions based on growth of labour productivity and reduction of production costs are the main trend of the price policy in the period of Communist construction. (Page 75).

And the entire programme is summed up by a passage which would be applauded at any Lord Mayor's banquet at the Mansion House:

It is necessary to promote profitable operation of enterprises, to work for lower production costs and higher profitability. (Page 74).

## Commodity production

This would be approved in the City of London because in this country wealth is produced for profitable sale—that is, it takes the form of commodities. The Russian State is urging the "... profitable operation of enterprises ..." because in the U.S.S.R. also, wealth is produced as commodities. Stalin, as we saw in part I of this article, admitted that the Soviet Union "... has not abolished commodity production ..." and went on, as he had to, to hedge this statement round with qualifications. But Marx was quite clear on the matter. The opening words of *Capital* read: "The wealth of a community in which the Capitalist mode of production prevails, appears as an immense collection of commodities."

Marx's analysis is still valid. Commodity production means Capitalism, whether it is in this country or anywhere else, including Russia.

What can we conclude from the Twenty Year Plan and from the other evidence which seeps through the Iron Curtain? The Soviet Union seems to be trying to become an ever-bigger monolith of an intensely automated, super-efficient, high-powered production machine. Such a nation must generate something of a momentum and values of its own. The Russian workers are caught up in a system which dictates its own terms. The Russians believe that this is Communism and presumably will go on believing so until Capitalism itself wakes them up.

Then they will realise that all the talk about the "all-round, harmonious development of the individual" and a "truly rich spiritual culture" (page 97) is so much humbug. Such concepts cannot flourish in a society that glories in production norms, because it produces people with a production norm mentality.

## Alienation

The culture of a people is inseparable from its work. But Capitalism, in Russia and elsewhere, separates work from culture; for most of its people, work is an expenditure of their labour power which they must go through to get their living wage. It has nothing to do with culture and this fact is one of the chief reasons for social illness in a highly industrialised society. The shortening of the working day and the intensification of labour go hand in hand. But the increasing mechanisation and automation of industry must create a void between the worker and the object of his work; and what sort of culture came out of a void? "What, then, constitutes the alienation of labour?" says Marx. "... the fact that labour is external to the worker, i.e., that it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself." (*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*), Moscow, 1959, page 72.

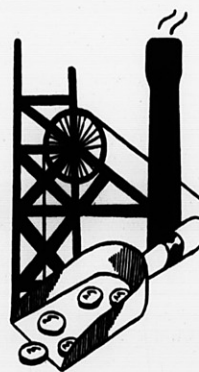
It is the intention of the Soviet Union to outpace the United States in production; the only way to do this is to outpace them in the techniques of exploitation; but the result of this in America has been this very alienation—in an aggravated form—that Marx wrote about in 1844, and has been further commented upon by others since then.

The British constitution (what there is of it) does not say that the United Kingdom is a capitalist State, but we know that it is because the evidence says so. In the same way, whatever the Soviet Constitution may say, the evidence says that Russia is a capitalist nation. As long as it remains so, the anomalies and problems of Capitalism will be visited upon its people.

We will not need a constitution to tell us when Socialism is established, because Socialism is a world in which "the Government of people is replaced by the administration of things," where the whole object is to make men and women masters of themselves—for they have had masters too long.

I. D. J.

(CONCLUDED.)



## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

## Who wants an Income Policy?

ANYONE WHO READS newspapers, listens to radio or looks in on TV, must be aware that there is supposed to be a thing called incomes policy and that it is most important. It is not, in the main, spoken of as something anyone actually knows or has, but as something we ought to have, and that all good citizens are looking for. Some unofficial seekers claim to have found it. The Prime Minister, with more modesty or more caution, is setting up the National Incomes Commission to operate the as yet undefined policy, though the TUC has, in advance, rejected the Commission as "both irrelevant to the nation's needs and unworkable in practice."

Mr. Macmillan, addressing a Conservative rally at Luton Hoo towards the end of June, had told them about "two great policies" he has for putting this country on the right road. The first is joining the Common Market. The second, as reported in the *Sunday Telegraph* on June 24th, "was to find further means, with the general consent of the people, to implement on a continuing basis an incomes policy based on fairness and common sense." If we find such a policy, said Mr. Macmillan, and successfully applied it, we would "be able to keep our four great objectives, full employment, steady prices, a strong pound and steady growth."

With the promise of fairness and common sense as its foundation, and so many nice things flowing from it, how could anyone not accept Mr. Macmillan's N.I.C.? But the truth is that when the TUC slashed the Commission on the ground that it is the Government's device for restricting wages, they were echoing the thoughts most workers have when their own wage claims are being met with arguments about "putting the national interest first." They think, with good reason, that it is to help profit.

Yet, despite its refusal to participate in NIC, the TUC (and the Labour Party) agrees that in principle there must be an incomes policy: only Socialists take another view.

People and unions and political parties have been arguing about an incomes policy and trying to frame one that would satisfy everybody, for a century and more. The ideas of the Unions have been rather restricted, going no deeper, for most members of each Union, than the belief that they at least ought to have higher wages even if the claims of the rest of the workers were a bit thin. The Unions found one slogan they could all agree upon: "A Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay." They and Mr. Macmillan both have a liking for that word fair. But, as the late Dr. Joad would have said, it all depends on what you mean by fair—such a comfortable word and so completely lacking in any meaning substantial enough to be got hold of. How can there be "fairness" between wages to workers who produce all wealth, and property incomes to non-workers?

Others, who thought a little more deeply about the question of incomes, discovered that it is impossible to justify the incomes we see being paid and received, on grounds of logic, humanity, or the moral tenets of "just reward" that are supposed to govern the world of work and which in fact have no influence whatever. So, a number of people totally rejected inequality of income and decided that there should be universal equality. Among these people may be named the late G. B. Shaw and the Labour Prime Minister, Lord Attlee, who were writing on these lines thirty years ago. What they meant, and what the leaders of the Russian Communist Party meant when they promised equality in Russia in 1918, was that there should be only one rate of income all-round, with no, or at most, only small variations. There would in fact be one standard of living for everybody. Socialists were not surprised that both in this country under Labour Government and in Russia under the Communist Party, equality never happened. It never had the slightest chance of happening, for the good and sufficient

reason that you cannot retain capitalism and yet hope to impose on it an abstract conception of equality which was quite alien to it.

In the very early days of British capitalism there were individuals, Jeremy Bentham was one, who thought that society was moving towards equalitarianism under its own momentum. We have seen how wrong they were. Inequality of accumulated wealth and property-income grew apace while Bentham was expecting the reverse, and once a high degree of inequality was reached it has remained, not at all affected by reforms supposed to end or at least to mitigate it. And with the growth of bigger and bigger companies and combines inequality has strengthened its hold, so much so that demands for equality are hardly heard any more.

But Socialists are still aiming at Socialism; which does not mean equal incomes, but the introduction of the only possible distribution principle for a Socialist social system—"From each according to his ability; to each according to his need," and this, of course, involves the end of wages and salaries as well as the end of rent, interest and profit. As Marx told trade unionists back in the 19th century, they should scrap their slogan, "A Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay," and put in its place the abolition of the wages system.

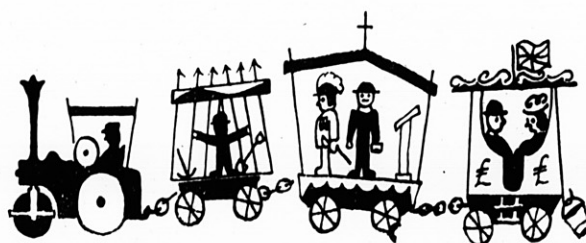
H.

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4





## THE PASSING SHOW

### The Psychologist

chology has the answer to all the world's problems. If only we all became psychologists, if only we all studied psychology and learned to understand the hidden springs of each other's actions, then the difficulties and injustices of society would all melt away.

No doubt psychology has its part to play in the modern world, at least under capitalism. Certainly many individuals have been and can be helped by psychiatric treatment. But, wars, exploitation, poverty, and unemployment, arise not from any defects in man which could be cured by psychology; they arise from capitalism, and the resulting break-up of society into irreconcilable classes.

If you don't believe that, you may care to reflect on conditions in what is perhaps the only country in the world which has a psychologist at the head of affairs. It is the near-Fascist republic of South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, is a former Professor of Applied Psychology at Stellenbosch University. But the people of South Africa are not any better off for that. Dr. Verwoerd is the representative of the ruling landed and farming class of South Africa, and he and his Government run the country in the interests of that class. The fact that he is also one of the country's leading psychologists makes no difference whatever to conditions in South Africa.

### Mosley

Whatever may be the right way to deal with Mosley, to go along to his meetings and knock him down is merely foolishness. Firstly, it gives him and his party country-wide publicity in press, radio and television. Secondly, it is resorting to the very weapon—violence—that Fascists and Nazis prefer above all others. Violence is what they plan for, what they train for, what they hope for. To reduce political argument to the level of people knocking each other down in the street is to descend to methods which the Fascists and Nazis would probably use better than

any others. As for Socialism, violence is totally irrelevant, even if there were no other objection to it; for the establishment of Socialism depends on an educated working class, which really understands what goes on in the world. Our weapons are argument, knowledge, and reason. Anyone with an understanding of the Socialist case would have no difficulty in pricking Mosley's bubble.

### Race-hatred

Equally irrelevant is the measure now proposed by some MPs of all three large parties to ban incitement to race-hatred. Acts of Parliament cannot kill ideas. If the ruling class of this country decided to bring in the Fascist form of capitalism, or a near-totalitarian system such as our rulers introduced in the last war, no Act of Parliament could stop them. It has been said before, but it will bear repeating, that the only sure safeguard against Fascism is the establishment of Socialism.

In fact, many of those now agitating for a Bill "against race-hatred" were in the forefront of affairs in the last war, writing articles and making speeches which had the single aim of inciting race-hatred against the Germans, Italians, and Japanese. If such a law as they now propose had been in existence from 1939 to 1945, they themselves would have been its most frequent transgressors. And in any future war, whether "conventional" or nuclear, we shall (if there is time) have to listen to the usual flood of propaganda inciting race-hatred against the Russians, or whoever the "enemy" happens to be. And any law there may be which makes incitement to race-hatred illegal will either be repealed or ignored by our rulers.

### Militarism

This war-time propaganda is, of course, intended for us, the workers, only; it is hard to believe that the ruling classes of the world fool themselves. For example, the Anglo-American line in the last

war was that the Germans and the Japanese were incurably militaristic, that they loved uniforms, drilling, and fighting, and that they rushed into the army at the least opportunity. This, we were told, was one of the "real reasons" for the war. At the end of the last war, the American ruling class insisted, as it had to do if it was to be consistent, that the Japanese should adopt a constitution which renounced totally and for ever any armed forces. But, of course, the realities of capitalism soon caught up with America. Within a few years the American capitalists saw that their next enemy would probably be Russia, and that Japan was almost certain to be America's ally in that war. So, against strong Japanese opposition, the Americans themselves insisted on Japan renouncing its American-sponsored constitution, and setting up again a strong army, navy and air force.

### Endanger the alliance

This, of course, is now history. But exactly the same thing is currently happening with those other "incurable militarists," the Germans. The German capitalist class has made immense profits since the war, helped by the fact that they have not had to pay very much out on armaments. The German rulers feared attack only from Russia; such an attack, they thought, was almost impossible because the United States would immediately counter-attack with atom-bombs. But the American capitalists have been getting increasingly unhappy about having to shoulder the burden of Germany's arms-spending as well as their own. Germany already has 350,000 men under arms, and has been persuaded to try to raise this figure to 500,000; but now the Americans are urging Germany to increase the Bundeswehr to a strength of 700,000. This suggestion, however, is very unpopular in German official circles. The German ruling class would much rather go on keeping its large profits and letting the Americans find most of the money for the arms build-up against

continued bottom next page

PRODUCTION AND consumption of wealth are every day essentials in all forms of social organisation. Economics, or political economy (the study of wealth production, distribution and exchange) is, therefore, most important. The manner in which these tasks are accomplished determines how and where people shall live, the quantity and quality of the food, clothing and shelter they consume, as well as their recreations, etc.

Considering the tremendous advance which has been made in industrial and scientific development and the enormous productive capacity of modern society, one would think that the major social problems, such as poverty, unemployment, etc., would be abolished. This is not so. It is paradoxical that despite the high productive efficiency of modern society the actual producers of the wealth fare very badly so far as its consumption is concerned. While capital is constantly expanding and the private fortunes of the capitalists accumulate, the workers' poverty remains fairly constant.

Few, if any, people will deny that we have several grave social problems in our midst. The solving of these problems is widely discussed and many schemes advocated. Socialists stand in opposition to the idea that reforms are a means of solving the major social problems. We contend that the social problems arise from the nature of modern society and will remain while this society exists. We emphasize the importance, for serious-minded workers, of economic study because it reveals the correctness of our claims. The Marxian Theory of Value is, so to speak, the anatomy of the Socialist case. If working men and women are to solve their economic and social prob-

## The Importance of Economics

lems they must first understand the nature of these problems. Given this knowledge the solution is easily obtained and understood.

This introductory article is intended to interest readers in a further study of the economic structure of society and the social relations amongst men. By *society*, we mean men organised together for the purpose of producing the things which are essential to sustain life. We define *capital* as—wealth used in the reproduction of wealth in order to obtain profit. By *social relations* we mean the co-operation or intercourse between men in doing this job. The phrase *private property* is used in the sense of ownership of property which enables the exploitation of men by men to take place, i.e., ownership of the land and other instruments of production.

How this system works is an interesting and instructive study.

The following questions are of great importance to all workers. Can we have high wages and low prices? Can wages purchase a quantity of food, clothing and shelter, etc., equal in value content

to the wealth which workers produce? What is rent, profit and interest and from what source does it come? How is it that capital and the private fortunes of the capitalists expand, despite their high living expenses, while the producers remain poor? Can poverty, unemployment and wars, etc., be abolished in modern society? An examination of the economic basis of society reveals the answers to these questions clearly.

Poverty is not something accidental. It is an indispensable and permanent condition of life for the great majority of people today. Private ownership of the land and other instruments of production establishes two classes whose economic interests are opposed. The specific form which this property assumes is the capitalist mode of wealth production. This creates basic social relations between men, viz., capitalist owners, who do not produce, and propertyless workers who do produce. We wish to make clear that ownership of capital, i.e., productive machinery and raw materials in itself is useless unless

—continued over

### THE PASSING SHOW—continued

Russia. In particular, they are relying on the American H-bombs in any future war. In a recent television broadcast, Herr Strauss, the west German Defence Minister, criticized the idea that Western Europe could rely on conventional weapons alone, and said that the theory that the United States would use its nuclear weapons only if American territory were attacked was false. But what he said next showed that he really meant he hoped it was false: "If this were the official view in Washington," he said, "it would endanger the (Nato) alliance."

So the present position is that the German ruling class is doing its best to avoid having to build up its armed forces, while America is doing its best to persuade it to do just that. It all seems a very long way from the propaganda we had thrust down our throats in the last war.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Thursday 18th October

## RALLY CONWAY HALL

Full details October "Standard"



an abundance of wage labour is available. It is, therefore, essential that the great mass of people should be excluded from ownership of their own means of production and, as a consequence, compelled to sell their ability to work for wages.

The economic and social requirements bring these two classes together in the first instance as buyers and sellers of labour power. Labour power is the sole commodity which workers have to sell. When sold, the class relations become employer and employee—master and servant. The capitalists dominate the productive process and determine what shall be produced, and in what quantities and qualities. The wealth created, together with the tools of production, belongs to the capitalist. Consumption of the wealth is through the medium of sale. In this sphere the classes sometimes meet again as buyers and sellers. The quantity of cash, wages, determines what the producers may consume, human needs being of little consequence. As buyers and sellers, the value

relations between men are major social relationships. There is no escape from the "sacred" laws of private property; they enter into almost every aspect in the lives of people. Whereas the workers buy the essentials of life in order to reproduce their labour power and sell it again, the capitalists sell and enrich themselves.

There can be no harmonious identity of interests here. In the first instance the property owners stand between the rest of society and their access to the means of production. In the second phase they stand between all other people and consumption of the goods. The whole resources of nature, together with the highly productive equipment, the labour of society, is utilised for the profit of the few. In this arrangement, the workers are, in a sense, merely a part of the means of production. What Socialists call the exploitation or, in stronger language the "legalised robbery" of the working class of the fruits of their labour, is the normal purpose of capitalist production. Poverty, wars, bad housing, and other

social evils are as natural and normal in society today as rent profit and interest. In addition, the whole of the property in the hands of capitalists is the result of the collective accumulated labour of the producers.

If the economic organisation of Society were understood by the working class they would not tolerate its continuance. Desire and power to change a social system can only arise from knowing how and why it should be done. The source of scientific sociological knowledge is here, at your disposal. We wish to repeat, with emphasis, that this source is the Marxian or Socialist case.

It is our intention to publish several articles dealing with economic aspects, such as commodities, value, surplus value, etc. We think that such articles will interest readers in further economic study which reveal the real nature of our economic and social problems and show the need for and the practicability of a Socialist system of society.

J. H.



## THE JAMAICAN SCENE

The following letter has been received from a sympathiser in Jamaica and we think it will be of interest to our readers.

THE JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY has won the recent election with 26 of the 45 seats, thus replacing the Peoples National Party. In 1944 after the new constitution for adult suffrage was granted, the J.L.P. came into power with an overwhelming majority. Their leader Bustamante had led strikes of portworkers, and farm labourers throughout the island. This, of course, made him very popular with the workers. On assuming power, however, his militancy for wage increase disappeared. He soon showed his true colours by breaking up strikes by force. Cost of living had by then overtaken wages, and by the next election in 1949 his popularity had decreased tremendously, particularly in the urban areas. He was returned, but with a reduced majority.

The P.N.P. by this time had been making good use of the opportunities offered it by the J.L.P. and went around preaching the need for "Socialism." Here is an excerpt from one of its pamphlets:

"The aims of Socialism are the same in Jamaica as they are everywhere. There are two great principles. To give to, and secure, that the people in a democratic way shall really own and control the things which are used to produce what people need, that is to say, the land of their country and money for its development." Another section of this document says, "Socialism condemns capitalism, because Capitalism has had a long innings and it does not work. In the struggle for profit for the few, the many starve."

One can just imagine the impact this had on the workers. This must be the party to end our misery and inequalities the people thought. The electorate expressed their confidence in this party by voting them into power in January, 1955. Like the Labour Party of England the P.N.P. turned out to have a lot to say about Socialism out of office, but very little to do when it was in power. They first made friends with the civil service with substantial pay increase, which causes this section of the working class to reach a high social status, thus identifying their interests with that of their rulers, and consequently rejecting other workers

of a lower income. Social prejudice now replaced colour prejudice as a dominant evil in society. The terrible housing problem was left to private capital, so only those workers who were in a reasonably good job could afford to sign their life away on some financial company's document, for a house.

In education only those who are advanced get any chance, classrooms are overcrowded and many children leave school before they are fifteen. The government had promised to end unemployment, but the problem is as obvious as ever. They claim to have provided 30,000 jobs in seven years, but there is still well over 100,000 unemployed (without the help of emigration it would be much more). Instead of curbing inequality the P.N.P. helped it to increase. Hooliganism flourished, the Rasta cut themselves off from society, and frustration and disillusion was expressed in various other forms. The P.N.P. had now lost all its "left wing" vigour. They had failed like so many before them in trying to run Capitalism in the interest of the rich and poor. The poor had long

continued bottom next page

### A TALE OF TWO SIMPLETONS

NOTHING SO SHARPLY divides the Socialist from the non-Socialist as the recognition that the world needs a different social structure—not just different men or different political parties to administer capitalism, but deliberate understanding action by the working class to replace the existing social system by a Socialist one. The extent to which this is appreciated is a measure of political maturity. Those who are politically quite immature believe the opposite. They believe that if they have "good" men to lead them these men can purify capitalism, solve its insoluble

continued from previous page

been forsaken. While the government was making a muddle of things, the J.L.P. took its chances and used the high cost of living and the unemployment problem to regain its lost popularity. They promised to solve everything and the workers, not knowing any better, believed them. Many reasons have been given for the P.N.P.'s defeat. The press (there is only one daily) claim that they treated the people as schoolmaster and students. Others say that the party's slogan "Follow the man with the plan," laid too much emphasis on one man, their leader Manley. On one thing they are all agreed, that nothing will basically change.

There are only two unions and they are both party controlled. The B.I.T.U. (Bustamante Industrial Trade Union) affiliated to the J.L.P. and the N.W.U. (National Workers' Union) associated to the P.N.P. Both unions have continually joined forces in crushing the formation of any other union. When the union's party is out of office they are very conscious of the workers' problems. When they have changed position, however, they become completely docile to it.

Society in Jamaica is just as sick as anywhere else where Capitalism exists. Young men turn to rum drinking, others to the doctrine of the rasta; and the disgust and emptiness of peoples' lives increase daily. It is the job of Socialists to expand their bounds and give them a new purpose for living, the purpose of understanding Socialism. They can then help in establishing a society where the satisfaction of man is our only goal.

D.

## Good man gone wrong

problems, rid it of unemployment, poverty and war, etc. Experience proves this to be unfounded. Politicians with no mandate to establish Socialism do not, when they become the government, have the power to impose their good intentions on capitalism. Instead, they are in its clutches; of necessity the Labour Government which had preached disarmament, peace and high wages in practice re-armed, supported war and tried to impose a wage-freeze. They end by being hardly distinguishable from the avowed supporters of capitalism.

A curious by-product of this situation is the emergence of critics of the Labour Party, many of them claiming to be pacifists, who take a dim view of British capitalism and its supporters but fancy that foreign representatives of capitalism are somehow different: the Reverend Donald Soper, for example. He sees the world of politics, at least outside of this country, in terms of good men and bad men, and is blind to the fact that capitalism takes no notice of such distinctions. But time digs its pitfalls for the Sopers of this world: the "good" men turn out to be "bad" after all.

Soper in his weekly article in *Tribune* dealt on July 27th with "Mosley, Nasser and the Jews." His argument was that anti-Jewish propaganda in this country is of little significance compared with the menace of Colonel Nasser, Egypt's dictator:

What is much more threatening and unmanageable is the anti-Semitism contained in Nasser's speeches last week-end in Cairo—particularly as this outburst in words coincides with the launching of Egyptian rockets for the first time. I find the following quotations almost appalling. He pledged himself to liberate Palestine from Israel. This is frightening enough in all conscience, but at least he has been saying this all along. He went on to hint that Egypt's rocket arsenal was being built up for this express purpose.

Soper fears that Nasser is bent on a war of conquest with his new rockets, and Soper wants him to be stopped. It would be too much to expect Soper to see that only the abolition of capitalism will stop Egypt, Israel, America, Nasser, Britain and the rest of the capitalist powers from waging war; instead, he puts his

trust in the farcical notion of "a system of international law which could restrain men like Nasser."

But to come back to the question of Soper's childish politics, why on earth should Soper want Nasser to be stopped, for we have it on the authority of Soper that Nasser is a "good" man, one who ought to be encouraged.

Speaking at Caxton Hall on August 14th, 1956, Soper had this to say:

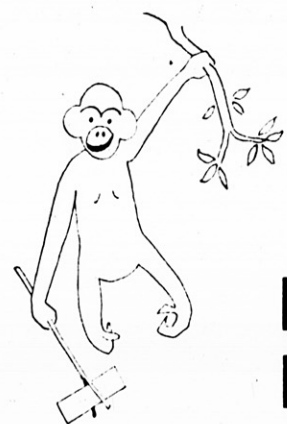
The third and last thing I want to say—because it is my purpose tonight rather to testify from the Christian standpoint, and to say something on behalf, I am sure, of thousands of Christian people who are inarticulate, whatever the other dignitaries of the church may or may not say—I want to say in the name of Christianity that this Nasser ought to be encouraged and not be repressed, because I believe the root of the matter in him is good and, because it is good, it is our business to evoke it by corresponding good and not to repress it by threats of violence.

This ought to cure Soper, but it probably won't, and readers who may take comfort in the belief that there cannot be more than one person with Soper's naive approach to the world have to learn that the same week produced another. While Soper is a pacifist who wanted to encourage the Egyptian warlord but has changed his mind and wants him restrained, another sometime supporter of the Labour Party, Ethel Mannin, who describes herself as an "unrepentant pacifist," thinks Nasser should still be encouraged. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* (July 26th), she said she was worried about some things, "notably the indoctrination of the children in a school I visited and which seemed to me Hitlerism," but "for your information, Sir, my attitude to Nasser's Egypt is one of the utmost goodwill, tempered with anxiety. . . . But whatever criticisms may be made of President Nasser's interpretation of Socialism, and his methods of implementing his ideas and ideals, of his sincerity there can be no doubt."

Ethel Mannin describes herself in her letter as "an old campaigner": she, like Soper, appears to be as simple as when she started.

H.





## Branch News

The Autumn **Delegate Meeting** is being held on Saturday afternoon and Sunday, October 6th and 7th at Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. More details will be given next month, but meanwhile it is hoped that Comrades will note the date and Branch Secretaries will contact Head Office regarding Provincial Delegates in order that arrangements can be made if necessary for their accommodation.

Outdoor **Propaganda** generally has been good, despite the very bad weather. Birmingham with Coventry have been teaming well and their programme should be further stimulated by visits from London members. Glasgow are keeping up the good work and no doubt will have a lively Autumn-Winter programme for indoor meetings, more details in October.

The Propaganda Committee is planning at least one large indoor meeting to start off the Winter session and on going to press, they have not quite fixed up the date and venue, but certainly Comrades will be well informed in order that they can give their full support to the meeting. The Films Committee is also very busy with their winter programme and will have a goodly list of films for showing in October.

Regretfully, the changed meeting place of Coventry Group was not given in the last two issues of the **STANDARD** and members and sympathisers are asked to note that the Group meets at 60 Alma Street, (off Lower Ford Street) Coventry on the first and third Mondays in each month. Enquiries should be made to the Secretary at that address.

**Wembley Branch** members were unfortunately unable to canvass in Portsmouth on June 17th as planned, but managed to hold the scheduled open-air meeting on the sea front. This was successful, and the comrades have arranged another for August 19th. Results of this in our next issue.

Stevenage is due for a visit from Wembley on August 26th when a canvass will be tried, this to follow Paddington's meeting there on the previous day. It is hoped that the newly formed Mid-Herts group will get some help from this effort.

Posters advertising our meetings have now

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1

been sent to British Railways and should be appearing shortly on station hoardings in our area. We plan to keep our local press advertising going at the same time, of course, and it will be interesting to see what sort of results we get. Other branches might like to try the poster idea. It is comparatively cheap.

Having run several successful indoor public meetings, we are busy planning another for the late autumn. Members and friends are asked to watch for details, and to give all the help they can.

**Glasgow Branch** are following up their most successful series of indoor lectures with an enlarged outdoor series of meetings. They hold regular Sunday evening meetings in West Regent Street and on Saturday afternoons speak at Royal Exchange Square. In addition they hold meetings at the Mound in Edinburgh every Sunday, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. They have also opened a new outdoor speaking stance at Rose Street, off Sauchiehall Street on Thursday evenings.

They have prepared an ambitious series of lectures for the indoor season in St. Andrews Halls this winter from October till April and those interested will find the details elsewhere in this issue. The Branch also intend to run this series in Hamilton and Edinburgh—and those interested in the Hamilton meetings should contact T. Jones, 56 Buchanan Crescent, Laighstonehall, Hamilton, and those residing in the Edinburgh area should contact the Glasgow Branch organiser, A. Thomson, Shirva, Twechar, Glasgow. The success of this, the most ambitious series of lectures depends upon the support of sympathisers and Party contacts. We make a special appeal to all those interested in Socialism in the Hamilton and Edinburgh areas to support this venture.

P. H.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm  
September 2nd & 23rd (noon)  
9th & 30th (11am)  
16th (1 pm)

Clapham Common, 3 pm

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8.30 pm  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Thursdays

Rose Street, 7.30 pm

#### Sundays

West Regent Street, 7.30 pm.

#### Saturdays

Exchange Square, 3 pm.

## Meetings

### EALING MEETINGS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road [3 minutes from Ealing Broadway Station].

Fridays, 8 pm

September 14th.

FILM: "GREAT UNIVERSE"

September 28th

Lecture & Discussion

### WEMBLEY MEETING

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Wembley.

Monday, September 10th, 8 pm

THE COMMON MARKET

Speaker: J. D'Arcy

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, SE6.  
Mondays, 8.15 pm. prompt.

#### OCTOBER

"The Socialist Case"

October 8th.

INTRODUCTION

Speaker: E. Grant.

October 15th

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Speaker: H. Baldwin

October 22nd

WHY SOCIALISM?

Speaker: E. Hardy

### ISLINGTON LECTURE

Co-operative Hall,  
129 Seven Sisters Road, N7.

Thursday, October 11th, 8.30pm

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Speaker: J. D'Arcy

### BRISTOL

Friday, October 25th, 7.30pm

Address to the:  
Bristol Left Club.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL BE ACHIEVED

SPGB Speaker.

### GLASGOW LECTURE

Sunday, 30th September, 7.30pm

St. Andrews Halls (Room 2, Door G)

Speaker: E. Hardy (London).

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Every Sunday

The Mound



# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

---

No worker should waste his time by voting for a Labour Government. Workers everywhere should see through the false propaganda of the Labour Party and of the other organisations which stand for capitalism. There is an alternative to them all. Socialism will bring us a world of peace and plenty. That is a world worth working for, because it is a world worth living for.

## **LABOUR PARTY PROSPECTS**

page 147

THIS YEARS T.U.C.

page 150

THE STRUGGLE FOR SPACE

page 151

YUGOSLAVIA

page 152

WHAT IS A COMMODITY

page 158



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (4th & 18th Oct.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 5th Oct. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 8EX 1950) and 19th Oct. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KJP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCELES** 2nd Monday (8th Oct.) in month 7.30 pm, 1 Lowry House, Church Street, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (1st and 15th Oct.) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (10th Oct.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Bilborough Estate. Correspondence: R. Powe, 13 Westerham Close, Bilborough Estate.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (Oct. 8th and 22nd) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (1st and 15th Oct.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th and 25th Oct.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (12th and 26th Oct.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

Thursday 18th October 7.30 pm

**RALLY** Conway Hall  
RED TON SQ HOLBORN, WCI

**Labour Government  
OR SOCIALISM?**

Speakers: E. Grant, E. Hardy

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### NEWS IN REVIEW

Berlin Again  
Chinese Bomb  
Farnborough  
Nkrumah Strikes  
Dr. Soblen  
South Africa

THIS YEAR'S T.U.C.	150
THE STRUGGLE FOR SPACE	151
RISE OF YUGOSLAVIA	152
BETTING BECOMES RESPECTABLE	153
PLIMSOLL LINE	154
MADE IN BRITAIN	154
COMMON MARKET AND THE OLD	156
CORN LAWS	156
THE PASSING SHOW	157
WHAT IS A COMMODITY	158
BRANCH NEWS	159

## LABOUR'S PROSPECTS

Now that it is Conference time for the Labour Party once more, one question will occupy the minds of its members. What are their prospects of returning to power? For some of them, we hope, another question will be even more important. What will a Labour government be worth, to the working class of this country and of the world?

Mr. Gaitskell seems to think that he has an election winner in the Common Market. Judging that the government will find it difficult to put over the idea of abandoning the Commonwealth preference system to join Europe, the Labour leader is demanding that a general election be held before Great Britain commits itself either way. This attitude is justified with some blatantly jingoistic arguments. Some Labour leaders now talk of the British Commonwealth as affectionately as does Lord Beaverbrook. Gone are the days when the Labour old timers scorned the British Empire as a great exploit of capitalist imperialism.

This brings us to our second, and more important, question. Would a Labour government benefit the working class? Some pioneers of the Labour Party used to think that it stood for peace, security and prosperity. That was their dream. What is the reality?

*Peace?* One of the first jobs of the Attlee government was to represent the British ruling class at the Potsdam conference. Here the leaders of the victorious Allies drew afresh the frontiers of Europe, carving up Germany and dividing Berlin. We all know that these are now among capitalism's sorest spots. If they should erupt into World War III the Labour Party will stand foursquare behind the war effort of British capitalism.

*Security?* It was the Attlee government, again, which condoned the A-bomb attacks upon the two Japanese cities, which started the programme to make a British H-bomb and a fleet of missiles to deliver it.

*Prosperity?* The sternest government restrictions on wages since the war were those imposed in the Cripps wage freeze. And when the freeze was not as successful as they had hoped, the Labour government indirectly cut wages by devaluing the pound. Since then, Labour leaders have often boasted that, because they have such strong connections with the trade union movement, they would be better able to control wages than a Conservative government would. Mr. James Callaghan, who is the Labour Party's shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, touched on this last August when he spoke to the Yorkshire miners' summer school. According to *The Guardian* of 28th August, 1962 he "... hinted yesterday that a Labour Government would limit the freedom of wage-fixing together with the freedom to fix prices, dividends and rents."

A future Labour government, then, would be as keen to protect the interests of the British capitalist class by holding wages in check as is the Tory government we have at present.

There are other reasons for deciding that no worker should waste his time by voting for a Labour government. The Labour Party did none of these things because they lacked knowledge, or had the wrong leaders or for any of the other excuses which are offered to explain away the melancholy records of capitalist governments. They acted as they did because they are a capitalist party, which aims for power to run British capitalism. And no party has yet succeeded in doing that to the benefit of the great majority of the people.

Workers everywhere—who are the majority—should see through the false propaganda of the Labour Party and of the other organisations which stand for capitalism. There is an alternative to them all. Socialism will bring us a world of peace and plenty. That is a world worth working for, because it is a world worth living for.



## Berlin again

Berlin seems to be developing into one of capitalism's nastier perennials.

With each year's squabbles over the divided city—some of the more minor ones being prime examples of the ridiculous lengths to which capitalist powers go in the risky game of international tit-for-tat—the Russians advance their cause in Germany a little further.

Last year's wall, a temporary-seeming structure then, is now solidier and more permanent. The East German police range their guns along it. This year the Russians have withdrawn their commandant in East Berlin, leaving the Western powers to negotiate with the civilian administration there, or else with nobody.

In retaliation the Western powers have forced the Russians to use a more direct route when taking the guard to their war memorial which stands in West Berlin.

This petty and undignified bickering is only the detail of a more serious situation.

The Soviet object, it seems, is to force the Western powers to acknowledge that Berlin—and indeed Germany—is permanently divided. (Permanently, that is, until another European war draws out the frontiers again, creating new zones of dispute and tension.) If they can do this, the Russians will have won a new foothold in Europe and another buffer state will be between her and any threat of a re-emergent German capitalism.

There was a lot of indignant sob-stuff in the press about Peter Fechter, the 18 year old who was shot down by the East Berlin police and left by them to bleed to death beneath the Wall.

None of the papers recalled that when Fechter was born they were all busily telling us that it was heroic and laudable to kill Germans. At that time the Allied air offensive against Germany was at its height; the persistent bombers killed thousands of Germans quite indiscrimin-

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

## SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

# THE NEWS IN REVIEW

ately. It was not their fault that the infant Fechter survived, to die so horribly later.

Berlin is typical of capitalism's international rivalries. It is fought out over apparently minor details. But its potential is frighteningly dangerous.

And it is all sustained by cynical lies.

## Chinese Bomb

Although they were quick to retract it, the statement from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in Washington that China would be able to set off a nuclear explosion in a few months was enough to send a shiver down our spines.

More bombs. More tests. More fallout. More suffering. More death.

That is the immediate prospect. For the longer run, China's bomb will mean a fiercer arms race and an increase in the tension in any dispute between her and the other great powers. And perhaps in the end a bigger and more destructive war.

China, like any aspirant capitalist power, has long been determined to make nuclear weapons. And, just like the others, she will excuse them with any sort of lying propaganda.

Last year, the general manager of Reuters persuaded the Chinese Foreign Secretary to talk on this subject. Marshall Chen Yi said that China's having the bomb would actually decrease the chance of a war, because when only a few powers had it they were more tempted to throw their weight about.

We may permit ourselves a grim smile at this, for it is the very reverse of the deterrent theory which the nuclear powers now use to justify their having the bomb. These countries have always claimed that what stops a war is the fact that they have an almost exclusive possession of the biggest of all sticks.

Who should we believe in this? London, Washington and Moscow? Or Peking? In fact, nobody need worry about the answer to that question.

For what will China do when she has got the bomb? Will she follow the logic of Chen Yi's argument and give the

secret to the world? To India, for example? To Japan? If all the other nuclear powers are anything to go by, China will forget her big-talk and keep her secrets to herself.

And perhaps we may permit ourselves a grim smile at this, too.

Capitalism will always have its ghastly weapons and it will always have its paid liars to excuse them. While they are spinning their lies the weapons get bigger and more horrifying and the conflict, grow more agonising.

Still feel like smiling?

## Farnborough

Apart from the little-boy excitement of the machines themselves, what was the interesting and significant thing about this year's Air Show at Farnborough?

Not so long ago it was a popular working-class idea that the aircraft industry was bound to expand into the future and that nobody who made his career in it could fail. This was the reason for many workers—among them graduates from universities—taking jobs with the aeroplane manufacturers.

But like many working-class assumptions, this one took no account of the nature of the beast called capitalism.

There were no turbo-prop aircraft on show this year. Yet the British aircraft industry once calculated that these would be more economical to run than the big jets and would therefore sell better to the airlines which, for all their superficial glamour, must have a sordid capitalist interest in cheap operating costs. Boeing, Douglas and Sud-Aviation in France proved this calculation wrong. So the turbo-prop is a dead-end and all the money tied up in it has gone down the drain. BOAC has its last Britannias up for sale for next to nothing.

Now the British industry is gambling on the future success of the VC10 and the de Havilland Trident. For neither of these are the prospects golden. If the fears which are expressed for them come to reality there will probably be another big cut-back in the aircraft industry and a lot more of its workers unemployed.



The airlines, too, are facing their problems. To stay in the race, each of them is forced to buy the latest, biggest, fastest (which usually also means the noisiest) machines on offer. The result up to now is that the number of seats available far exceeds the passengers who want them. So there is fierce competition, especially on the Trans-Atlantic runs.

This has caused most airlines in the world to fail to make a profit. Last month BEA—one of the few profitable lines up to the present—announced that interest payments had turned a working profit of £550,000 into a loss of a million and a half pounds.

We all know what capitalism says must happen to an industry which does not make a profit. Aircraft are something of a special case; there are elements of national prestige and strategy to take into account. But in the end, in one way or another, the rule will apply.

For a lot of aircraft workers it looks like being a very bumpy ride.

Fasten your safety belts, please.

## Nkrumah strikes

Doctor Nkrumah has succeeded in baffling many people with his latest round of deportations and imprisonments.

It is simple enough to discern the reason for his expelling the Bishops Roseveare and Patterson. Both of them were involved in criticising the Young Pioneers, a nationalistic youth organisation whose members are required to chant, among other nonsense, that "Nkrumah never dies."

Nobody who knows anything about Ghana under Nkrumah expected the Bishops to get away with suggesting that in the country's youngsters should spend less time in worshipping the god in Accra and more in the (equally futile) worship of the god who they say is in a place called heaven.

But it is harder to explain the detention of Mr. Adamafio, Mr. Coffie Crabbe and Mr. Ako Adjei. The first two of these men were up to the hilt in Nkrumah's campaign against the churches. We

might have thought them safe in their jobs.

Perhaps they were involved in the bomb-throwing which has been going on in Ghana of late. Or perhaps they were just becoming too great rivals to Nkrumah's supremacy.

Now they have gone and Krobo Edusei, famous for his wife's £3,000 bed, is back in the government after his dismissal six months ago. Nkrumah, already overloaded with jobs (among others, he controls the Convention People's Party, the Ghana Civil Service and the Volta Dam project) has taken on the Foreign Secretaryship.

These moves may be difficult to explain to our entire satisfaction, but one or two things can be said for sure.

Nkrumah is a dictator. His Young Pioneers are a copy, albeit a weak one, of the Hitler Youth movement. In taking on totalitarian powers, Nkrumah has betrayed the promises he made when he was fighting the British for Ghana's independence.

There is nothing new in this. Post-war history is full of examples of nationalist dictators who ousted their country's occupiers and came to power themselves with slogans of eternal liberty.

Many people outside Ghana were taken in by Nkrumah's propaganda in the old days. Shocked though they may now be, they still lend their ears to the nationalists who are currently banging the independence drum.

Let Nkrumah's Ghana stand as a warning that national independence has nothing to offer the ordinary people who are misled into supporting it and who end up by being oppressed and exploited by it.

## Dr. Soblen

The death of Doctor Soblen brought to a close another of capitalism's nasty little episodes.

Soblen killed himself because, above everything else, he did not want to go back to the United States to serve his sentence for spying for Russia. The British government, perhaps at the insistence of Washington, were determined that he should be sent back. To get their way, they were prepared to break some of the legalities which at other times they hypocritically defend.

Great Britain has signed a treaty of extradition with, among others, the United States. This treaty means that if, say, a murderer escapes to America the government there will catch him and send him to this country for trial.

This treaty expressly excludes spies. The reasons are obvious, all countries have their network of espionage and it would be embarrassing for all of them if, should one of their agents flee, he could be extradited by the country he had been spying on.

Soblen should have been covered by this provision; in a sense, he was. The government never fought his case on the grounds that he was to be extradited. They only insisted that he should be deported.

But deportation only means that a person is sent out of a country—it does not mean that he must be sent to any particular other country. He can choose, in fact, the frontier by which he leaves. If Soblen had been deported he might have chosen to go to one of the Iron Curtain countries where, no doubt, he would have been welcomed as a hero.

The government were, of course, aware of this. In the name of the Anglo-American alliance they ignored the laws which they themselves have made to make their system run more smoothly.

Soblen was a tragic dupe to the illusion that Russian capitalism is worth working and dying for. This does not obscure the fact that he was a victim of the callous cynicism which all capitalist powers—including Russia—fall back on when it suits them.

## South Africa

At the time of the Sharpeville shootings and the "Boycott South African" campaign many anti-apartheid spokesmen went to great lengths to show how South Africa's economy would suffer as a result of world opinion and moral indignation.

Up to the present the owners of the means of life in South Africa are no more or less affected by trials and tribulations than their brothers in less race-prejudiced countries. In fact, some foreign industrialists think the place has some attraction.

Textile chief Mr. Cyril Lord intends to move the contents of two cotton mills from Lancashire to the Bantu areas of the Union. He says the British Government has failed to protect textile interests against cheap Asian competition. Some 100 key men are offered jobs abroad: the rest face the sack.

A South African official in London said: "Mr. Lord will have the advantages of cheap labour among others." (*Daily Herald*, September 12th, 1962.)

Will Mr. Lord continue to demand that

continued bottom next page



## THIS YEAR'S T.U.C.

IT IS NORMAL at trade union conferences for numbers of resolutions to be carried that have no practical outcome and serve no purpose except to indicate the feelings of delegates on all sorts of issues about which they protest loudly because they cannot think of anything else to do. Delegates have only to look back at the resolutions they carried last year and the years before to realise that nobody takes any notice of most of them, least of all the Government to whom many are conveyed.

This year, however, there were one or two decisions of the T.U.C. that may, for better or for worse, have some consequences that may be worth considering.

The Delegates at the Blackpool Conference were almost unanimous in supporting a resolution calling on the General Council to examine the possibility of reorganising the structure of both the T.U.C. and the trade union movement "with a view to making it better fitted to meet modern industrial conditions." Nothing will happen immediately as a result of this resolution. The intention is that the General Council should complete its examination in time for next year's conference, but Mr. Woodcock warned that it would take at least two years. The movers took care not to indicate the kind of alterations of structure that may be found desirable, this reticence being the only way to get the delegates to agree wholeheartedly to the resolution. As Mr. Woodcock remarked, each union is inclined to regard its own way of doing things the right one and the other fellow's wrong. Though no particular changes were fore-shadowed, one union, the Locomotive drivers, voted against the enquiry; they think it will probably recommend a merger with the National Union of

continued from previous page)

the British Government protect their textile interests by keeping out his cheap South African cotton goods? Boy-cotters and "Ban this and that" mongers may note that, while workers may be threatened with ills such as unemployment, propertied groups do not suffer economically, even though they sanction or commit acts which are quite anti-social.

Railwaymen and they have no intention of merging.

Many times in its history the T.U.C. has seen delegates at its conferences pass resolutions calling for re-organisation of the unions. Not much has come of such resolutions because most trade unionists nowadays have the feeling that none of the changes likely to occur will make much difference. There was a time when trade unionists could get into excited argument about the respective merits of craft unions and industrial unions, about the benefits of amalgamation, and about giving the General Council of the T.U.C. authority to control the wage claims and strikes of affiliated unions. These causes still have their advocates, but it is all in a less heated atmosphere than once it was. Experience and disappointment have had a sobering effect. The collapse of the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport workers and the "General Strike" of 1926 have left their mark.

One of the periods of lively discussion about the trade unions was just after the first World War. In that atmosphere a resolution was carried at the 1919 T.U.C. instructing the General Council to examine the constitution of every affiliated union and on the information so obtained "to report upon what, in its opinion, is the most desirable and up-to-date method of organisation that will enable the workers by hand and brain to reap the full results of their toil."

It was moved, seconded and carried without more than a hundred words of supporting speech by the mover, and no opposition. This could have been due to the unanimity on the part of the delegates, or to a general feeling that it was a pious resolution and nothing would come of it.

Whatever the explanation, nothing much did come of it.

The idea of giving the General Council power to control the unions has often been put forward, but has had little support in this country, most trade unionists obviously preferring to keep the power to decide on wage claims and any supporting action within their own organisation. A characteristic attitude was that of a Miners Federation delegate at the 1915 T.U.C. when opposing a resolution which had called on the T.U.C. to try to obtain an all-round 5s. increase of wages.

"This is work for the Trade Unions themselves to tackle. So far as the Miners Federation is concerned, we should object to the Parliamentary Committee coming to us and trying to get us 5s. a week extra." After that speech the delegates would not even discuss the resolution any more and went on to next business.

And in 1919, when it was moved that the T.U.C. should undertake the amalgamation of all unions into one body, under control of the T.U.C., only one short opposition speech was made, but it was sufficient to kill the resolution: only seven delegates voted for it out of 851.

The opposer said: "I want to say that there is not a single Trade Union in the country that would submit to the control of the Parliamentary Committee. It is ridiculous to suppose that this Congress would ever submit to anything of the kind."

This persistent opposition to formal proposals of a changed structure does not mean that the unions in Britain have not changed. By process of amalgamation of local unions into National bodies and of more or less associated unions into larger ones the number of unions has been nearly halved since 1913 (from 1,269 to 690), while membership has more than doubled, from 4,135,000 to 9,803,000. In 1913 about two-thirds of all trade unionists were in the small number of unions with over 50,000 members. Now membership is largely concentrated in seventeen unions above the 100,000 level. But 1913 has nothing like those mammoth unions, the Transport & General Workers with over 1,300,000 members and the A.E.U. with 982,000. Apart from the Miners who had 600,000 members in 1913 (and that was a more or less loose federation, not a concentrated body) the largest union in 1913 appears to have been the N.U.R. with 273,000 members.

While these trade union developments of half a century have been going on, and indeed inducing them, British capitalism has been organising into larger units, with employers federations acquiring more experience of handling "labour problems" and productivity techniques, and making more use of arbitration and conciliation machinery.

It is arguable whether the unions are a little more effective or a little less effective

in dealing with the changed conditions. Certainly their members are dissatisfied with the results, but so they always were. Basically it is because the trade unions have never dealt with anything except the effects of capitalism, and capitalism has not changed in essentials.

The workers, including the "white collar" workers who are now increasingly entering the fold of trade union organisation, are still a class that lives by selling its labour power, its mental and physical energies, to the employers. Nothing has changed about that.

Contrasted with this country with its 650 unions, of which 183 are affiliated to the T.U.C., there are other countries in which the trade union movement has been reconstructed and streamlined or where the central trade union body has powers unknown and hitherto unacceptable here. But has it made any material difference? Are the workers of Austria, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, in any better situation?

The answer is, of course, that against the universal background of the capitalist wages system structural alterations can have only relatively small effect.

### LUNACY

## The struggle for space

A SCHOOLBOY FANTASY is fast approaching realisation. There may be a man on the moon in the next three or four years if the latest Russian achievement is any indication. Recently two men—Major Nikolayev and Lt.-Colonel Popovich—were sent up within twenty-four hours of each other, about 150 miles above the earth.

"Quite fantastic," said Sir Bernard Lovell. This man of science at Jodrell Bank was quick to point out the depth of Russian resources which must have been behind their double space shot, and there is general agreement that it brings a lunar expedition very much nearer. According to Colin Frame in the *Evening News*, the preliminary to a moon landing would be a space base assembled about 500 miles up, from which further rockets would be launched. Professor Lovell thinks that the Soviet experiments may well have this in view.

From the available evidence then, the Soviets seem still to hold the lead in this field, but it need not mean that they will continue to do so. President Kennedy has admitted that America does lag behind, but for some time now desperate efforts have been made to shorten the gap, and contracts have already been placed in connection with a future U.S. Moon Shot, estimated to cost \$30 thousand millions. It makes nonsense incidentally, of the rather silly suggestion in the *Evening News* editorial that the American failure is because money has been diverted to other things more urgent, such as houses, roads, etc. In fact, the budget of the National Space and Aeronautics Administration has increased this year from \$1,700 millions to \$3,000 millions, and it has been said that none of its work in the space programme is hampered for lack of funds.

So the Russian advantage is a technical one, and this must be causing the American government some concern in more ways than one. It seems almost too obvious to say that this is a severely competitive world and the space race is no exception. Linked with it is the struggle for prestige between the two giants of capitalism, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., and prestige means a lot when you are jostling for influence among the newly rising states.

Nor should we lose sight of another and much more sinister aspect which Sir Bernard Lovell himself has mentioned. Talking about the Soviet feat on August 13th, for example, he told reporters that "... you cannot divide the military and peaceful significance." And again, on August 15th, he spoke of the "... terrible avenue of the militarisation of space which is now obviously opening before our eyes." In this respect, he was not concerned merely with the Russians, but was critical of their combined failure with U.S.A. to achieve "... co-operation on a big scale ... to further the peaceful exploration of space."

Yet it is precisely this peacefulness which is an impossibility in a private property set up. A mere absence of actual fighting does little to conceal the vicious RAT Race in Space undertones working to another horror later on. Research into new weapons and perfection of the old are going on all the time, and it is futile for Professor Lovell to talk of peaceful co-operation when on his own admission there is really no such thing. And for all their talk, the actions of the U.S. and Russian governments show that they don't believe it either. Both sides have been developing rockets capable of delivering nuclear warheads, and it is interesting also to see

What is needed, as the Socialist has to go on repeating, is that the outlook and purpose of the working class have to be changed: not the grouping of non-Socialist trade unions into organisations of different size and shape, but the adoption of a different outlook and purpose. This aim is not the one for which trade unions exist or that they can achieve. It calls for Socialist understanding and political organisation and action, not on a craft or industrial or National basis but internationally, on the basis of the common interest of all workers in abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism.

H.

from *The Guardian* of 16/8/62 that twenty unidentified American satellites have been launched under military secrecy since last November. At least some of them have been designed for missile warning and reconnaissance work.

Indeed, Max Freedman put his finger on the sort of dilemma which confronts capitalist powers when he wrote:

The Kennedy Administration is unshaken in its central belief that outer space should be reserved for peaceful purposes alone. But it is aware that it cannot allow Russia to achieve an acknowledged lead in outer space without running the risk that the U.S. one day may find itself at a formidable disadvantage in measuring its ultimate military power against the Soviet Arsenal.

Even Britain, barely an also ran in the race so far, is thinking of edging into it by way of a high performance aircraft, capable of eventual orbit. The R.A.F. is said to be seeking support for such a programme and its possibility is being studied, according to Aviation Minister Julian Amery speaking at the Society of British Aircraft Constructors' dinner in London last month.

What a prospect then, for the future! Maybe a man on the moon in three or four years and the certainty anyway of a frantic arms race pushing itself more and more into space. Already nuclear bombs have been exploded high above the earth's atmosphere by both America and Russia, and Professor Lovell thinks that the Russians may well be able to shoot down American satellites. Incidentally, this sparked off an interesting but largely futile speculation in one newspaper on the legality of such action. Futile, because legality is just about the last thing capitalist powers will allow to stand in

continued bottom next page



## PART ONE The rise of Yugoslavia

THE CREATION OF YUGOSLAVIA (the word means "State of South Slavs") was the culmination of an historical process which began fourteen to fifteen centuries ago.

The Slavs came originally from the Russian Steppes and the northern forests of Byelorussia and their history over the years had been very turbulent. Wars and skirmishes had been waged back and forth between various Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Princes, each trying to extend the territory under his control.

But these rulers all had to submit to a more powerful enemy when the Turks invaded Europe during the fourteenth century. Bloody indeed were the battles, but the invaders relentlessly forced their way north as far as Vienna, eventually retreating some way under pressure from the forces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The new line of demarcation split the territory roughly in half, bringing Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Monte Negro and Macedonia under Turkish rule, while Austria-Hungary retained control of Croatia and Slovenia. The new conquerors lost no time in imposing their religious ideas. Worship under the old Bosnian Church was forbidden. The Roman Catholic Church replaced it in the north, and the Eastern Orthodox Church in the South. Although there was considerable resistance to this, it would be a mistake to think that the

many peasant revolts during the next six centuries were over religious issues.

Eighteenth century poets and philosophers of that unhappy land often scratched their heads over the cause of these conflicts. Only by Marx's Materialist Conception of History are we able to grasp their true significance and realise that they had their origin in the oppressive social conditions of feudalism. Religion served only to mask the more deeply rooted troubles. For instance, the feudal set-up peculiar to the area was such that peasants owned no land whatever. They were allowed merely to work the lord's land, surrendering about fifty per cent. of the products to him. This was a constant source of struggle over the centuries and peasant claims to land ownership met with stubborn refusal. Then again, large numbers had been driven to the Velebit Mountains along the coast during the Turkish invasion, but this was very poor land. Subsequently migration took place eastwards to the fertile plain lands of Vojvodina in Serbia, to be met with fierce resistance from those already established there.

The Turks were eventually ousted from the Balkans in 1877. The Serbs did this with Russian backing, and Serbia became an independent kingdom. King Alexander I of the Obrenovich Dynasty was the first ruler, but he was assassinated in 1878 and was succeeded by King Peter Karadjordjevic. Inde-

pendent Serbia, it seemed, set the pace for Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia still under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She was a living inspiration to nationalist dreamers, and for the power-hungry in Belgrade this was indeed a time of plotting and intrigue.

From the turn of the century there were popular demonstrations in favour of Slav unity and in opposition to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Cries of working class discontent were now added to those of the frustrated petty nobility and a thwarted Bourgeoisie. Such was the state of affairs when on that fateful June day in 1914, one student Gavrilo Princip felled the Archduke Franz Ferdinand with a gunshot which rang round the world and sparked the dry tinder of European capitalist conflict into the flame of World War I. Four years later, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had collapsed and the Versailles Peace Treaty established a new unified Balkan State under King Peter Karadjordjevic. Yugoslavia had arrived.

Six different regions were incorporated in the new state, each of them still under the influence of one or other of the major powers. Economic development had been patchy and uneven. Most industrialisation had taken place in the north which had been influenced by the rapid growth of European capitalism. The rest of the nation was still largely feudal with peasants representing about eighty per cent. of the population.

Yugoslavia was now a political democracy, but in 1918 the Royalists still held popular sway. Organisations such as The Social Democratic Party, the Nationalist groups "Young Bosnia" and "Serbian Youth" and the Yugoslav Communist Party, were left standing. At the general elections of 1921, however, the Communist Party won 59 seats and came within an ace of forming a government. There followed a bitter struggle with the Royalists that reached its peak with the assassination of Minister of the Interior Drashkovich. The Royalists promptly blamed the C.P. for this crime, imprisoned its leaders and declared it an illegal organisation.

From now on, the C.P. had to exist clandestinely. It received financial support from Moscow and followed faithfully (or should we say slavishly) the Russian party line. In 1936 the Party

E. T. C.

was dealt a further blow. Its General Secretary Gorkich disappeared while in Moscow during the trials and his office was handed over to Josip Broz, otherwise Tito.

But the war clouds were gathering again, and in April, 1941, Yugoslavia was overrun by the Nazis. King Peter fled to England. From then until 1945, it was the familiar story of a peasants' resistance movement to the German occupiers, but this again was divided broadly into two opposing sections. First there were the Royalists, known as the Chetniki, under the command of General Mihailovich. The Partisans were the other major group, organised and led by members of the Communist Party. Both groups had their eye on the future and fought with the intention of establishing their own type of government after the war.

Various minor parties such as the Social Democrats, Trotskyists, and Liberals hated both Royalists and Communists and were quite prepared to support the Nazis against the resistance movement. The Nazis were quick to see the value of "divide and rule" tactics and in 1943 by promising the Royalists a share in post-war government, managed to enlist their aid against the Partisans.

The Partisans fought on against gigantic odds, but it would be wrong to suppose that their heroism and courage were inspired only by a desire to be rid of the German invader. The peasants sighed for an end to the conditions of pre-war Yugoslavia, which had many similarities to Tsarist Russia. They lent a ready ear to the Communists who promised land reform and industrial development, and clearly compromise with the old order to any extent was impossible. Capitalist development was due for a fillip after the war.

### "Peoples Republic"

In 1945 a plebiscite was held and declared heavily in favour of the establishment of a "people's republic". The Communist Party won the ensuing General Election by a large majority and the Royalists were eliminated as a political force. A formidable task faced the new government. Forty per cent. of the towns were in ruins and one-tenth of the population had perished during the war. The survivors were asked by their rulers to work hard and deny themselves now for happier times in the future. Millions gave their enthusiastic but misguided support to the government having been told that this was the path to Socialism. Where have we heard all this before?

The Communist Party leaders were now in control of the state machine and

theirs was the job of changing the feudal face of Yugoslavia into a Capitalist one—with the co-operation of the workers, of course. What matter that they called the new conditions "Socialism" or the "transitional period to Communism"? Mass working class ignorance would see that they remained in power for some time to come at least. Marshal Tito, the tireless underground leader in pre-war days and fearless partisan during the war, became the dictator of the new Yugoslavia, the man at the helm of the young capitalist State.

Like their brothers elsewhere, the Yugoslav Communist Party had many times said that they would grab the state machine as a temporary measure only, and use it to usher in Socialist society. It would then wither away,

they claimed. How little they understood the role of the state machine. Since their rise to power it has become progressively stronger in the administration of Yugoslavia's private property society.

The C.P. cry of "Electrification and Industrialisation" meant sweeping changes in favour of the industrial capitalists. But there had to be a compromise because agriculture was and still is a major industry, and the transformation of the peasant into a wage worker had to slow down. The average peasant had no desire anyway to exchange the devil he knew for one he did not, and stoutly resisted attempts to drive him into the factories and workshops. Collectivisation of farms was then abandoned, at least for the time being.

REMY STARC.

[To be concluded]

## BETTING BECOMES RESPECTABLE

NOW THAT the new legalised betting shops are off to a good start and working class punters adorned with the dubious honour of a mantle of bourgeois respectability wherever they can lose their fair days pay in a more dignified way; it may be timely to compare the old back street hole-in-the-corner betting dens of Manchester with some of the present chromium plated outfits blossoming forth under the new regulations.

No longer is there any need to slip surreptitiously down a back alley or dodge P.C. 49 and the Black Maria in a frantic effort to play up one's pension or the rent on the elusive 2.30 winner; one awaits the result, jammed tight in a sweating mass of the unfortunate class of society, who never seem to tire of trying to gamble their way out of poverty, merely because they do not yet realise the cause of it.

Those repulsive conditions of working class punters, in grim contrast to the environment and atmosphere of Ascot lawns, etc., have given way, despite the hypocritical opposition of the men of God, to armchair betting in the main street betting shops, with loudspeaker commentaries, official receipts for all commissions, and rapid payment after results and the weigh in.

Of course, the usual anarchic laws of competition may eventually force the small fry betting shops to the wall or into take-overs by the tycoons in the business.

Many bookmakers who operated under cover from one address only before legal

status was conferred on them, now have several new offices all doing brisk business. It certainly appears that betting on horses is on the increase, at any rate in Manchester. What with this and the Pools, Premium Bonds, Chemin-de-fer clubs, Bingo Parlours, etc., ordinary traders with stock on their hands lament the drain on the wage packets of otherwise potential customers.

However, there is no need for us to shed tears. Perhaps it may serve to teach them a thing or two about the competitive system they are so fond of! Rather do we point to the cause of all this gambling activity—the crazy profit system of production which divorces the producers from their products, leads them up the garden to chase shadows in State-organised lotteries, Football Pools and Bingo rackets, and the rest. This is typical of capitalism in 1962: but in a co-operative world of production for use, a money-less, class-less, trade-less community, gambling will cease simply because profits and losses, poverty, privilege and luxury will give way to the social equilibrium of production for use.

This is something which the citizens of Manchester have yet to learn despite the fact that it is over a century ago since Engels sign-posted the way for them. Manchester may currently boast the tallest building in Europe, but it certainly does not stand very high in recording its vote for a saner social system.

G. R. RUSSELL.





## PLIMSOLL LINE

Samuel Plimsoll hated Toryism, but the depth of his hatred of Liberal government was shown when he said in the House of Commons on May 14, 1873:

"I am a Liberal of the Liberals. I have supported Liberal measures ever since I came into this House, but it has been borne into my mind that the interest of the working classes, when at issue between themselves and capitalists, are safer with the Conservatives than with the Liberals."

Thirty-one years after the load line was lowered; thirty-one years after the Plimsoll Mark was established, David Lloyd George became President of the Board of Trade, and he wiped out the labours of Plimsoll by issuing new regulations raising the load line. The Plimsoll line—the charter of the seamen—was dead. In its place was substituted the Lloyd George load line.

On Saturday, September 21st, the Board of Trade enquiry into the loss of the *North Briton* was held at Cardiff. The magistrate who presided over it summed up thus:

"For some time before the vessel foundered, and when her condition was hopeless, the crew—those 20 brave men of that brave class, the British Mercantile Marine—stood together on the deck with their pipes in their mouths, silently, calmly, dauntlessly facing death. Without a murmur or a cry they perished in the sea. Their lives were sacrificed to the 130 tons of additional freight." He pointed out that:

"According to law she was not overlaid, but the Court is satisfied that consistent with safety the loading was excessive," and "the primary cause of her loss."

The Court put the Board of Trade the following question for urgent consideration:

"Do the disasters to vessels that have occurred since March 1906, when the rules for assigning a ship's freeboard were revised, and whereby numerous vessels had their freeboard reduced, call for further immediate revision of such rules?"

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD  
October 1912

## EXPORTS & IMPORTS

BEFORE THE WAR, "Made in Britain" was a selling point. At any rate, enough manufacturers thought so to make something of a splash about it in their advertisements. We don't hear so much of this now. Down at any youth club, we know, it is *Italian* clothes which are all the rage. *Swedish* tableware has won a name for itself as an elegant, durable wedding present. The black leather jackets knock up their tons on motor cycles from *Japan*, which also supplied a lot of the cameras that clicked away on our damp beaches this summer.

To the casual observer—and this is how we can describe most of the workers whose fortunes under capitalism depend upon their observations being anything but casual—this gives the impression that British industry is being engulfed by a wave of foreign imports. This impression is often coloured by heart-racking stories of the cheap labour which foreign industries are supposed to use. Stories of pregnant Japanese women sweating out long hours in textile mills for next to no pay. Of slum dwellers in Milan being squeezed in the factory until their pips squeak. English employers, of course, are supposed to play fair. No cheap labour is used here. All of this country's exports are fairly priced and compete honestly on the world's markets. So runs the popular story. You can hear it in any City restaurant any day of the week.

From there, the argument progresses simply. Because they use cheap labour, the foreign industries can knock out dirt cheap goods. But the British manufacturer, selling his products as if he were playing cricket, sticks to the rules and poor, simple, honest fool that he is, is undercut and outsold all over the world. So British industry packs up and we are left unemployed, staring at shop windows full of cheap cameras from Tokyo and cheap shirts from Hong Kong. This should be enough to teach us all to buy British, even if it does cost us twice as much from our wages.

This argument is so popular, so convenient to British capitalism—and so wrong—that it is worth dealing with.

First of all, nobody should run away with the idea that imports are a one-way traffic. This country, although it im-

ports an enormous amount of wealth, is also one of the world's great exporters. Last June, for example, Britain exported £327.8 million worth of goods. This holds good also for the specific case of Japan, which is the villain of so many of the dark import/export sales. According to the Director of the Anglo-Japanese Economic Institute, who wrote to *The Guardian* on 15th August last, Japan is importing British goods at the rate of one million pounds worth each week. Japanese business men do not like the prospect of being outsold any more than their English counterparts do. The letter went on:

... many Japanese industries have been protesting to their own Government about possible flooding of the Japanese market by foreign goods once Japan's 90 per cent import liberalisation plan is in full operation this October. It seems there are two ways of looking at everything.

British business men should appreciate the force of this as much as anyone. For they, like the Japanese, complain about foreign imports at the same time as they are exporting for all they are worth. Some of them shelter behind protected markets in this country, but demand that the industries which supply them with their raw materials should be subjected to the rigours of freely competing imports. The agricultural interests in this country are notorious for adopting this attitude. Although they prosper on padded home market, British farmers do not care about undermining the interests of other industries in this country, if this means that they might be able to buy cheaper food for their animals or cheaper fertilisers. They object to the chemical industry having its own protected market, making them pay more than they would for foreign chemicals. Last March, for example, the chairman of the Farmers' and Smallholders' Association was advising all farmers to buy Italian fertilisers because this was cheaper than the same stuff turned out by British chemical firms. This may be good business for the farmer, but not so for ICI, who were at the time agitating for an anti-dumping duty on imports of the fertiliser.

Another example of this is the attitude of British European Airways, who can always be relied upon to put up a bitter opposition to any private airlines ap-

# MADE IN

# BRITAIN

plication for a licence to ply along one of their routes. BEA's objections have nothing new about them. They plead that they have spent time and money on building up the routes and that they will only be able to afford the expensive equipment which a big airline needs if they are allowed a monopoly of British operators on their routes. In their last annual report, they said that they would not make up their mind about how many of the new Trident jets they would order until they knew what competition the government is prepared to allow over these airlines.

Nobody who knows anything about capitalism would expect BEA to surrender their established fields of exploitation without a fight. Neither would they expect any capitalist concern to protect some other industry's interests. In the same report, BEA announced their new, cut-rate "walk-on" fares to Glasgow, Edinburgh and Belfast. These low fares are especially designed to attract passengers away from the railways. It is obvious that BEA, like any capitalist business, favours competition when they are making the running. In fact, the railways could reasonably object to the new fares by using the airline's own arguments against them. They could plead that they have built up the passenger traffic over the routes which BEA is now trying to dominate. They could argue that they have a lot of expensive equipment to buy and do not know whether this will be worthwhile if they are to be so easily undercut.

## Undercutting

This sort of tangle is not confined to domestic industries. Early last year, an application from the Steel Company of Wales to be allowed to import cheap American coking coal was fought, and defeated by the National Coal Board. The fact that the coal industry had succeeded in preventing the Americans from undercutting them did not stop them trying to do the same thing to coal industries abroad. Lord Robens, chairman of the NCB, is itching for this country to join the European Common Market and on August 29th last he gave his reasons for this. British coal, he said, could undersell coal from the Ruhr into Ham-

burg; the only thing that stops it doing so is the import quota which the German government, doubtless under pressure from Lord Robens' counterparts in their country, uses to restrict British coal imports to 400,000 tons a year. Lord Robens frets under this restriction. Without it, he thinks, the coal mines could double or treble their sales in Germany. He likes competition—provided it is the "heads-I-win-tails-you-lose" variety.

It is obvious, then, that this business of imports and exports is very much two-sided. A broad view sees that the exports of British coal mines are the imports of German power stations and that the exports of the Honda motor cycle firm are the imports of the British dealers in those machines. But capitalists are seldom interested in broad views or any other such concept. Any industry in capitalism must sell to survive and none of them can afford to be particular about how they make their sales. Sometimes they have to put in some backstairs pressure work upon a government department to protect their market. Sometimes they have to indulge in some double-talk and black-is-white argument. Sometimes they must be inconsistent. And sometimes they must tell lies. For none of them can ever cry enough. While they protect their own markets they must always be seeking new ones, always trying to move into some other industry's established field of selling. This is typical of the muddle and wasteful anomalies which capitalism produces in such abundance.

Unhappily—and in some ways almost unbelievably—many workers take their masters' part in this struggle. The miners were behind the NCB's fight against the American coal. Presumably Japanese workers will back their employers in their protests to the government in Tokyo over the freeing of imports into Japan. Textile workers over here complain about the cheap goods coming in from Japan and other Far Eastern countries, without realising that these goods may have been made in such abundance and so cheaply on machines which were exported from this country. It is too obvious that international trade in an established part of capitalism which no amount of prejudiced and one-sided objection can break down.

This reasoning may not appeal to the redundant motor cycle worker as he watches the Hondas roaring along the bypass. But he would do better to consider the root cause of his unemployment. He was laid off because it was not profitable to employ him any longer. Because everything it makes is meant to be sold, capitalism fits everything into the strait jacket of profitability. If profitability says that foreign goods must be imported, in they come. If it says that

an industry must close down, it does so. Profitability, for example, says that shipworkers must be laid off. In the boom of the early fifties many ships, especially tankers, were produced on speculative orders which hoped that when they were built there would be a market for them. But by the time the ships were ready a new trading pattern had developed and with it a demand for the enormous "super tankers." This forced a lot of the smaller tankers into the grain market, flooding the market for bulk carriers, bringing freight rates down and driving the shipping industry into a slump. This is typical of the anarchic problems which capitalism's profitability mania creates in abundance, but can never solve. It was not caused by foreign competition; only aggravated by the fact that all the world's shipyards were going flat out in boom time to cash in on the market. That is something which every industry tries to do, and will always try, so long as capitalism is with us.

That is where our unemployed worker, and the clerk in the City restaurant, should look for the key to unravel their problems. There has never been any lack of medicine men to peddle their remedies for capitalism's ailments. But the ailments keep on showing themselves with ever greater complications. Nothing can be too drastic to cure them. Even a bit of straight thinking about capitalism.

IVAN.

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

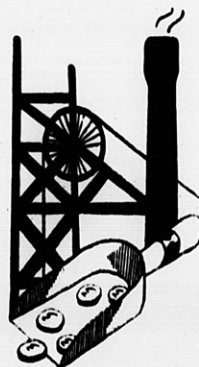
### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Pelone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.





## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

## The Common Market and the old Corn Laws

THE *Economist* in a recent article on the difficulty Macmillan will face in trying to get Parliamentary approval for entry into the Common Market, described it as potentially "the most explosive internal situation since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846." The writer was warning of the possibility that the Tory Party might split and the Government suffer defeat by an alliance between "Tory reactionaries seeking disentanglement from Europe," and the Labour Party seeking to win an election on anti-Common Market votes.

It is an interesting parallel. The repeal of the Corn Laws (duties on imported corn), and the removal of the import duties on a wide range of other goods and the earlier abolition of duties on exports, marked the great changeover of British trading policy from high protection to free trade. Among other consequences it was expected to bring speedy ruin to farmers and landlords as floods of cheap imported food started coming in. These agricultural interests were influential in the Conservative Party which was then in power with Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister. He however favoured Repeal, both on general grounds and because of the disastrous potato famine that occurred in Ireland in 1845, but his fellow ministers in the Cabinet would not agree. He thereupon resigned, but the Liberal leader, Sir John Russell, was unable to get enough support in Parliament for a Liberal government and Peel was soon back in office. He then forced the Repeal of the Corn Laws through the House of Commons against the will of his own Party. He was able to do this because the Liberal opposition M.P.'s who voted for it were joined by over a hundred Conservative "free-traders," many of whom later joined the Liberal Party. Peel had got his way, but it cost him his Premiership, and the Government for the next six years was Liberal.

The British industrial and commercial capitalists had truly come into their own. British manufacturers and British-owned ships dominated the markets and shipping lanes of the world. The Free-trader, Dr. Bowring, might declare "Jesus Christ is Free Trade and Free Trade is Jesus Christ." But what the manufacturers were aiming at was low-priced raw

material and food imports so that wages could be reduced, selling prices of manufacturers kept down and profits raised. They hid their real aim under promises of benefits for everybody—for the worker, cheap food and high wages; and for the whole human race, the dawn of an era of brotherhood and peace. They were, however, not able to convince the farmers and landowners that it would be good for them also, but as things turned out the repeal of the import duties on food did not have the feared disastrous effects at once. For one thing the duties on imported corn were not abolished at one stroke, but by stages over a period of years. Secondly, it took time to organise the import of food from abroad and it was not till many years later that the floods of cheap food started coming in from across the Atlantic. Also the big discoveries of easily-mined gold in California and Australia had the effect of raising the general price level.

The enthusiasts for Free Trade convinced themselves that it was a doctrine for universal application and were surprised to find that it was not everywhere accepted. Free Trade suited the triumphant British exporters of manufactured goods, but not their less successful rivals on the Continent.

On the Continent—the backbone of the Protectionist Party was formed by the manufacturers who feared the English imports; the Free-Trade Party were the agriculturalists who wanted cheap manufactures. Thus in Germany the Agrarians or Junkers were Free-Trade, so were the great landowners of Russia, the wine-producers of France and the cotton growers of the South in the United States. They were all exporters and wanted markets abroad and were willing to take manufactures in return.

(*Knowles Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the 19th Century*, P.132).

Later on when British capitalists ceased to determine the world market for manufactured goods and had to face thrusting competitors from overseas, many of them abandoned Free Trade.

In 1923 the Baldwin Tory Government and its big business backers had decided to go over to Protection. They fought an election on the issue, but were de-

feated and it was not until nine years later under the Import Duties Act, 1932, that a general ten per cent. import duty was imposed on all imported goods except raw materials and foodstuffs.

Baldwin's failure to carry the electors with him in 1923 (his policy was opposed by both Liberals and Labour) is a reminder of the different political situation in 1846. At that time the workers had no votes and the electorate was well under a million in a population of 18 million; now it is about 36 million in a population of 52 million.

One other difference is that nowadays hardly anyone can be found in this country crusading for Free Trade in the way the old Corn Law abolitionists did. The supporters of the European Common Market (including the formerly Free Trade Liberals) want Free Trade inside the Market, but a quite high tariff wall against imports from outside; and their opponents who want to keep out of the Market and develop Commonwealth trade are likewise supporters of Protective Tariffs.

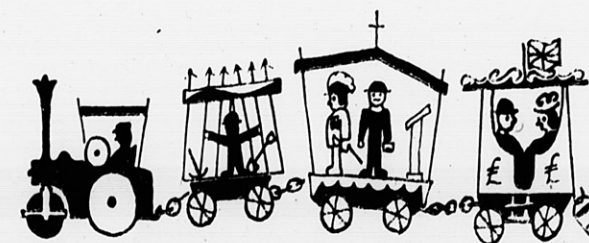
Where some big backing for Free Trade can be found now is in the United States, and the reason is the same as that which operated in Britain in 1846. The Kennedy Administration has been trying to move towards freer trade; naturally against the opposition of those groups that favour high tariff protection for their own products. A correspondent writing in the *Financial Times* (11/9/62) says:

In fighting for freer trade the President has enjoyed the support of the most progressive section of American industry—capital goods—which have been chiefly responsible for expanding the U.S. export surplus in recent years. While the U.S. is now a net importer of finished consumer goods, exports of capital equipment—construction machinery, rolling machinery, and the like—are some 6,000 million dollars larger than imports.

One factor does not change. All of the industrial and commercial groups whose financial interest leans this way or that over free trade, protection, common market and the like will go on proclaiming that all they are concerned with is the well-being of the workers—just as it was in 1846.

H.

## THE PASSING SHOW



If we do not realise that the third world war—with its probable loss of many millions of human lives—may break out at any minute, it is not the fault of our rulers. They never weary of warning us. If the third world war does come, we cannot say we have not been told of its likelihood many, many times in advance. Whether the recurrent crises are over China, or Cuba, or the U2 planes, or Berlin—to name only a few current head-liners—the leaders of the Western and Eastern blocs never miss a chance to tell us that this is exactly the kind of behaviour—by the other side—that could well lead to the ultimate explosion. And these speeches and warnings are not simply fortuitous. They are part of the necessary conditioning of the workers in all parts of the world to the idea that war may come at any moment, so that if it does come they will once again be prepared to go out and sacrifice their lives in defence of their masters' profits.

## The wall

The Berlin wall is high up on the list of the pretexts which the great powers are keeping warm as excuses for a third world war when they decide it will be in their interests to have one. For a pretext is all the wall could be.

Let us see what both sides say about it. The Western bloc say it has been wantonly built by the East Germans right across the middle of Berlin, dividing German from German, in order to prevent East Germans fleeing to the west. The Eastern bloc says that the wall is a deplorable necessity, which had to be built to fence off West Berlin, since it had been turned into a nest of spies and agents-provocateurs. Both sides agree that the wall is regrettable and unnatural, but each blames the other for its erection.

## Frontiers

In fact, there is nothing unnatural about the wall. Frontiers, which divide the world up into segments, are a natural concomitant of capitalism. All capitalist states, whether their frontiers are old-established or newly-drawn, erect fences to keep their own people in and

"foreigners" out. Where frontiers are changed, through wars or treaties, defences are soon put up along the new lines. And anyone trying to cross the frontier without the necessary papers and permissions will find himself treated as roughly as anyone caught on the Berlin wall, especially if the two powers on either side of the frontier happen to be hostile to each other. The only thing that is "unnatural" about the Berlin wall is that such a long time elapsed before it was built to mark the new frontier. There are reasons for that, of course; the East German rulers hoped for a long time that they could extend their sway over West Germany as well, while the West German leaders hoped to bring East Germany under their control. The building of the Berlin wall marks the abandonment, or the postponement, of these hopes by the East German regime.

## The same language

The Western bloc makes great play with the fact that the wall divides German-speaking people from other German-speaking people. This, of course, is nothing unusual. The Franco-Belgian frontier divides French-speaking people from each other; the Belgian-Dutch frontier divides Dutch-speaking people from each other; the Swiss frontier cuts across areas of German-speaking people, of Italian-speaking people, of French-speaking people. The majority of frontiers in South America divide Spanish-speaking people from each other.

In Africa, the great powers in the last century cut up the continent among themselves without the slightest reference to the wishes or language of the inhabitants, so that there are now very few frontiers in Africa which do not cut across the old tribal or speech-group lines. For the capitalist power-groups of the world—East and West—to make public professions of regret at the carving of Germany and Berlin into two pieces is sheer hypocrisy.

## Divided world

Socialists oppose the Berlin wall for the same reasons that they oppose every

other capitalist-made frontier—that it divides the people of the world from each other. So much emphasis is placed on whether a man is a Frenchman or a German or an African that it is often forgotten that he is primarily a human being. Socialists oppose state frontiers because they keep human beings apart; frontiers will cease to exist under Socialism. It is just as iniquitous to build barbed-wire fortifications manned with troops and police to keep Frenchmen and Germans apart as it is to keep Germans from each other. As so often happens when the issues of the day are probed more deeply, it becomes clear that it is useless to oppose the manifestations of capitalism while supporting capitalism itself. For the wall is merely a symptom of the class-divided, and therefore frontier-divided, world which produced it.

ALWYN EDGAR.

RALLY

CONWAY HALL

Thursday  
18th  
October

7.30pm



## WHAT IS A COMMODITY

A COMMODITY can be defined as any useful article produced for sale in order to obtain profit. A product of labour can also be described as a useful article which satisfies some human need or want. To point out the distinction between products of labour and commodities is the chief object of this article. Therefore, to begin with, it should be emphasised that while all commodities are products of labour, it does not follow that all products of labour are commodities. A person may, with his own materials and labour, make a chair for his own use. Such an article, although useful, is not a commodity. The sole distinction between what is merely a useful article and something which is produced for sale is a social one.

We see practically everywhere a wide range of merchandise displayed, with tickets to indicate the price for which the owners will sell. It all seems to be so natural and simple and self explanatory. But the origin, growth and development of a commodity make it something more than a chair, etc. If we examine the definition given above we shall find that it implies private ownership and also the desire of the owner to sell and his prospects of obtaining profit. This in turn means people willing to buy. The circumstances are social and many complications arise therefrom.

The commodity character of wealth is of comparatively recent origin. For countless generations men produced wealth without creating a single commodity. In the times preceding private property, the social relations between early men were simple, direct and useful. Their labour was expended in obtaining and transforming nature-given materials into useful articles for their own consumption. They made their own tools and weapons, hunted, fished and cultivated. No useful article, whether produced by men or nature, could be bought or sold. Private ownership of the land and other instruments of production did not exist. The only obstacles which early men encountered were the natural elements. If this is kept in the forefront the nature of commodity wealth should be clear.

Irrespective of how it is produced all wealth is made to be used. Use value

is a material property of any article. It is physically consumed in the satisfying of some human want and its production, whether by man or nature, is a physical process. This applies to commodities although they are, primarily, produced for sale and profit as distinct from use. In the sphere of utility we are dealing with natural and material properties at all times. For example, shirts, shoes and coats are all physical objects and, are the products of weaving and shirtmaking, tanning and shoemaking, and weaving and tailoring. The quality of the labour is also natural and physical, it is in all cases concrete labour, or the labour of the individual producers. The utility of such articles is determined by the physical quality of the labour and natural materials.

Value as a social phenomenon, although a reality, is non material in character. A commodity does not acquire value merely because human labour is embodied in it. As previously stated products were in the past, and shall again in the future, be created without acquiring value. It is solely due to definite historical conditions that articles for sale are born. Private ownership of the land and other means of production was the means by which a minority of society obtained control of all natural wealth and of the useful labour of the majority of people. It is only within such social conditions that embodied labour acquires value and the product of labour become commodities. Value is a social reality, therefore, but not a material or indispensable part of the article.

An article for sale is solely a value to its owner. To its potential buyer it must be a useful thing, i.e., a social utility. This is the essential basis of value. However, its owner who has produced it for sale is not primarily concerned with its utility. So far as he is concerned use value is secondary and is only of interest to him in so far as it enables a sale to take place. The realising of its value is his chief if not sole concern.

Wherever we find capitalist society there we shall find commodity wealth and the profit motive. This wealth, socially produced by workers, is privately owned by non producers, capitalists. The absurdity of poverty-stricken producers side by

side with wealthy non-producers is to be found everywhere. The physical and mechanical side of wealth production is efficient enough to accommodate the needs of the people. It is solely the ownership side, sale and purchase as means of consumption, which causes the trouble. The establishment of Socialism will end this state of affairs. The units of wealth created in a socialist society will not be combinations of use value and value. The loss of the commodity status would not in any way diminish the usefulness of the wealth produced. The essentials of life, socially produced and owned, would be available for all according to their needs. Buying and selling and profit would have no place.

J. H.

## Do it yourself!

The working class are enthusiastic when they do things for fun. Pottering about in the garden, tinkering with a car, decorating or repairing the home, or knocking up something from the do-it-yourself kit, these jobs they do with much care and joy.

But spare time occupations, although they provide fun, are more usually sternly necessary because they save the worker from having to pay to have the job done elsewhere. As anyone knows with bills to pay, it is a strain on the household purse otherwise.

In fun or in earnest, the desire when hungry is to eat, when tired to sleep, when cold to seek warmth. These satisfactions are brought about by men producing the things which satisfy these wants.

Under Capitalism, needs and wages are for the working class economic twins. The food, clothing and shelter they buy are dependent upon the price they can get for their labour power. Their lives are fashioned by wages, Wage-labour, prices, and profits, are the economic features of private property ownership. The bread we eat is produced in order that a profit can be got out of the baking, and

this like everything else that is bought and sold has a direct bearing on the question of unemployment. No profit, no jobs.

The means of production throughout the entire world are today owned by the Capitalist class who employ the working class in order to exploit them. So that the working class may be maintained and reproduced they receive back from the wealth they have produced enough roughly to keep them fit for further work. All the surplus the working class have produced then goes to the Capitalist class.

This surplus value is the source of the disparity between rich and poor, reflected throughout the world in the fact that a relative few languish in luxury whilst millions struggle in misery and poverty.

To those not conscious of the whys and wherefores, this is a problem which may appear insoluble or which will at least take years to solve. To be sure, men will not allow a problem to prevail once they realise the solution. We could have a world where all would contribute what they could to society and take what they needed out of all that was available. This would be a much more simple and sane way of producing and distributing. In order to do this, society must own in common all the means of wealth production and distribution.

This is Socialism. Instead of leaving it to others to bring about, do it yourself!

J. MC-G.



## essential reading

Capitalist-Worker-Class Struggle	6d.
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA



## Branch News

**Dates to Remember.** Saturday and Sunday, October 6th and 7th, venue Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4—occasion—the 1962 Autumn Delegate Meeting. Fuller details on meetings page. The Propaganda Committee are arranging an evening indoor meeting after the Sunday's proceedings, Thursday, October 18th at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1 at 7.30. Public meeting—support of Comrades and sympathisers will ensure that this meeting will be a successful one. Subject—"Labour Government or Socialism". Speakers—Comrades E. Grant and E. Hardy. This is the first date that a meeting could be arranged after the Labour Party Conference and the speakers will be referring to this. As with all Party activity, the support of members is essential and is also most encouraging to those organising and speaking at the meetings—So Comrades, if you are not speaking or organising on this evening, please bring along as many friends and be available to help with literature sales, etc.

There will be a contingent of Socialist Party members in Brighton during the Labour Party Conference week which commences on October 1st. Our comrades will be around throughout the week to sell literature. Any Comrade living, or holidaying in the vicinity would be a welcome assistant. The Propaganda Committee are hoping to arrange some outdoor meetings at the week-end. The Comrades at Brighton will know about the meetings and will be able to give details to other Comrades who wish to support such meetings.

It is encouraging to see the list of lectures and meetings being held to start off the Autumn/Winter Propaganda session. Glasgow and Paddington Branches have arranged lectures right through to next Spring. Islington, Hackney and Lewisham, Ealing and Wembley Branches are also very energetic and have several meetings arranged. Hackney Branch for instance will hold regular meetings every second Wednesday in each month from October to March. All readers are cordially invited (as they are to all and every meeting of the Socialist Party of Great Britain—Executive Committee meetings included).

Lewisham Branch activity is increasing with the lectures arranged, correspondence with the Press, canvassing locally and work for the Bromley Group. The Branch members would be pleased if Comrades in nearby branches could assist in billposting, printing and canvassing. A number of Branch

## ELECTION APPEAL

Glasgow Branch intend to contest a bye-election in Woodside ward. They need financial support. Please send contributions to the Election Fund to SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London SW4

members attended a public meeting of the local committee of 100 and extended a challenge to debate. They hope the challenge will be accepted in the near future.

Ealing Branch commences its most ambitious programme of lectures, discussions and films. All members are asked to give the venture their fullest support and sympathisers are cordially invited. Two film shows are in the programme for October.

Wembley Branch Comrades were very gratified when comrade Michael's recent talk on "The Socialist Revolution" attracted about twenty members of the local Labour Party Youth section ("Young Socialists"). There was good and lively discussion. September 10th was the date of the first indoor public meeting this Autumn. Comrade Hardy spoke on the "Common Market". Among the other events planned the Branch hope to show a film on Cuba.

Two successful meetings have been held at Southsea this season. It is a pity that this station cannot be given greater attention. It was noted that audiences seemed more attentive than previously and literature sales were greater. Other outdoor meetings at Earls Court, in conjunction with Ealing Branch have been most encouraging, with large audiences and good literature sales.

Canvassing efforts continue month by month, and August 26th saw a small team visiting Stevenage in support of the new Mid-Herts Group. The Comrades hope that on the next more people will be at home to greet the canvassers. The result of the first canvass was rather disappointing but there will be another time!

The "New Zealand Building Worker" is reprinting the whole of our January Common Market articles in serial form. The first section appeared in their July issue and we have received their July and August numbers. Each section has a heading. The July issue contained the following:—"For the benefit of our members we intend to reprint from the SOCIALIST STANDARD (England) a survey and analysis of the Common Market (E.E.C.). The complicated situation the United Kingdom finds herself in today is revealed in these articles which will be reprinted in succeeding issues of our journal".

P. H.

SOCIALIST STANDARD—Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.C.) 57 Banner Street, London, E.C.1



## Meetings

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Room 2, St. Andrews' Halls (Door G)  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

#### THE POLITICAL ARENA

October 7th

### THE FUTILITY OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

October 14th

### WHAT THE LIBERALS OFFER

Speaker: R. Donnelly

October 21st

### WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Speaker: I. MacDougall

October 28th

### WHERE THE TORIES FAIL

Speaker: A. Shaw

### HAMILTON MEETINGS

Labour Rooms, Church Street  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

#### THE POLITICAL ARENA

October 7th

### WHAT THE LIBERALS OFFER

Speaker: R. Donnelly

October 14th

### WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Speaker: I. MacDougall

October 21st

### WHERE THE TORIES FAIL

Speaker: A. Shaw

October 28th

### THE FUTILITY OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Room 3, Free Gardiner's Hall,  
Picardy Place (off Leith Walk)  
Sundays, 7 pm

#### THE POLITICAL ARENA

October 7th

### WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Speaker: I. MacDougall

October 14th

### WHERE THE TORIES FAIL

Speaker: A. Shaw

October 21st

### THE FUTILITY OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

October 28th

### WHAT THE LIBERALS OFFER

Speaker: R. Donnelly

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-Op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd.,  
Rushey Green, Catford, SE6  
Mondays, 8 pm

#### THE SOCIALIST CASE

October 8th

### INTRODUCTION

Speaker: E. Grant

October 15th

### ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Speaker: H. Baldwin

October 22nd

### WHY SOCIALISM?

Speaker: E. Hardy

### EALING MEETINGS

Memorial Hall, Windsor Road,  
Ealing Broadway  
Fridays, 8 pm

October 5th, DISCUSSION

October 12th, FILM: THE YUKAWA  
STORY

October 26th, FILM

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

Royal Oak, York Street, Marylebone  
Rd., W1

Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

October 3rd

### THE PARIS COMMUNE

Speaker: A. Veteran

October 10th

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPGB

Speaker: G. MacLachlan

October 17th

### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ART

Speaker: E. Kersley

October 24th

### ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CRUSADES

Speaker: L. Dale

October 31st

### THE GERMAN STORY (1)

Speaker: H. Weaver

November 7th

### FILM: THE GERMAN STORY (2)

### BETHNAL GREEN LECTURE

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Rd., E2

Wednesday, October 10th, 8 pm

### THE GREAT CHARTER

Speaker: V. Phillips

### WEMBLEY LECTURE

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Wembley

Monday, October 8th, 8 pm

### THE MUSIC HALLS

Speaker: Jack Law

### PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday, October 18th, 7.30 pm

### RALLY CONWAY HALL

"LABOUR GOVERNMENT OR  
SOCIALISM"

### ISLINGTON LECTURE

Co-Op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Rd., N7  
Thursdays, 8.30 pm

October 11th

### MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Speaker: J. D'Arcy

October 18th

### EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

Speakers: R. Ambridge

### FILM LECTURES

Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4  
Sundays 7.30 p.m.

October 28th

### CHISOKO THE AFRICAN

November 4th

### AGE OF DISSENT

November 11th

### MAN OF THE ASSEMBLY LINE

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Every Sunday  
The Mound

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm & 6 pm

East Street

October 7th & 28th (noon)

14th (11am)

21st (1 pm)

Clapham Common, 3 pm

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm

Hyde Park, 8.30 pm

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

### GLASGOW OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Thursdays

Rose Street, 7.30 pm

#### Sundays

West Regent Street, 7.30 pm.

#### Saturdays

Exchange Square, 3 pm.



# SOCIALIST STANDARD



## CUBA and INDIA

On going to press we learn that in two areas of the world, India and Cuba, actions are being taken that could conceivably lead to another world conflagration. We, therefore, put on record once again that no interests are at stake that justify the workers risking their lives in the quarrels of their capitalist masters. War is always on the horizon under capitalism. The only answer to war is for the workers to abolish capitalism and replace it by Socialism. The Socialist Party of Great Britain and its Companion Parties for Socialism throughout the world are opposed to war and to all that war represents.

### IN THIS ISSUE

**REMEMBRANCE DAY  
POPPYCOCK**

**A PLAGUE ON THEM ALL**

**RHODESIAN BACKGROUND**

**WHAT IS VALUE?**





## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (1st & 15th Nov.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: SPGB, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm. 2nd Nov. at 7. Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 16th Nov. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W12.

**ECCLES** 2nd Monday (12th Nov.) in month 7.30 pm, 1 Lowry House, Church Street, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRIGHTON** Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719.

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (5th and 19th Nov.) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Wednesdays 7th & 21st November, 8.15 pm. Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (13th Nov.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: R. Powe, 13 Westerham Close, Bilborough Estate.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (12th and 26th Nov.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (5th and 19th Nov.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W5.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th and 22nd Nov.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane Romford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th and 23rd Nov.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sala. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

New Reprint of

# ART, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

by WILLIAM MORRIS

with a modern reassessment by  
the Socialist Party

First published by the SPGB in 1907

ORDER FROM SPGB PRICE 1/- (POST 3d EXTRA)

## SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### NEWS IN REVIEW . . . . . 164

Labour Conference  
Rail Strikes  
Soviet Income Tax  
"University" in Mississippi

### REMEMBRANCE DAY POPPY- COCK . . . . . 166

### RHODESIAN BACKGROUND 167

### RISE OF YUGOSLAVIA (2) . 169

### FINANCE & INDUSTRY . . 170

Trouble in Agriculture  
The shadow of surplus  
BOAC Losses

### NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE 170

### FORERUNNER OF COMMON MARKET . . . . . 171

### WHAT IS VALUE? . . . . . 172

### OBJECTIONS: 1912 . . . . 173

### THE PASSING SHOW . . . . 174

### PLEA FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL 175

### BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS 176

## PARTY CONFERENCES

# A plague on them all

September and October were the months of concentrated party conferences. Liberal, Labour and Tory followed each other in quick succession, and the average worker may well have found the whole business a bit overwhelming. Conference reports can be boring and tedious, even though the press ruthlessly condenses the speeches. So who can be blamed for wanting to toss his newspaper aside with a snort of exasperation. Yet perhaps we should be thankful that the very closeness of the conferences meant that the agony was fairly short-lived, and for Socialists, anyway, there was an added advantage. It was easier to compare the policy pronouncements of the various vote seekers without too great a strain on the memory.

Now that the delegates have dispersed along with the hot air, there is one lesson which Llandudno and Brighton should have taught us. Despite the hero worship, despite all the speeches of the "greats" from the rostrums, they know well that none of them can hope to govern without working class support. The humble vote, multiplied by millions, will decide their fate, so they must keep their electoral weather eye open. They cannot ignore the possibility that the present government may go to the polls before its full five years term has expired, particularly if Mr. Heath manages to get an early completion of the Common Market negotiations in Brussels.

Do not be misled by the bright and smiling picture of itself which each of these parties tries to paint for you, by "Auld Lang Syne," "Land of Hope and Glory," or any other emotional finale to their deliberations. After all, if we are to believe the conference speeches, they have *all* never been so united, they *all* have the best possible leaders, and they are *all* going to win the next election. Rather should we look at the sort of things that were discussed and the decisions which were reached.

Some of the loudest shouting has been done by the Liberal Party whose conference was the first of the batch. It is a far cry from the great Liberal governments of the turn of the century, and the modern Liberal was saying things at Llandudno which would have shocked the old leaders. But then, Capitalism has come a long way since then and the old doctrine of free trade has given way to that of the Common Market, the forcefulness of Lloyd George to the almost unbearable smugness of Jo Grimond. The Liberal Party has undergone a revival of sorts after many years in the political wilderness, and perhaps there may be a Liberal government again one day, but the prospect does not enthral us. And what evidence exists that the Liberals of the 1960's would be any more successful in solving Capitalism's problems than their Labour and Tory counterparts?

Although nobody can be quite certain, of course, it still seems likely that the next battle for power will be fought out between the Tories and Labourites. The Common Market negotiations may have given Mr. Gaitskill's party an issue which will enable it to paper over some of the other cracks of recent years and fight with some semblance of unity. But unity for what? The unity of the Labour Party which fought and won the 1945 election is probably something which its present leaders remember with nostalgia, but when in power, it administered British Capitalism in much the same way as the other parties would have done.

In fact, the Conservatives' Industrial Charter of 1947 was very cagey when discussing possible future moves to undo Labour's nationalisation acts and had to admit that most of the state control would be left intact. Now, fifteen years later ("exceptionally slow even for Conservatives," said *The Guardian* of 11/10/62 tartly), this document is foisted into the Llandudno limelight, all because something they said was gone for good is with us again—redundancy. "Let us humanise industrial relations," bleat delegates from the floor, by which they do not really mean humanise (for that is an impossibility under Capitalism), but merely see that those who have worked the longest get a bit more compensation when they find themselves out of a job due to the march of "progress."



It is all very much a sign of the times. With British Capitalism running into choppy waters again, its administrators, of whatever party, will be casting about them for policies to keep it on an even keel. But, as usual, the problems which have always baffled them continue to do so. There has been a slow but stubborn increase in unemployment, and after all this time they are still talking about urgent measures to solve the housing problem, as witness the agitated debate at the Tory conference.

Lacking knowledge of the real cause of these problems, workers will cast their vote in despair from one capitalist party to the other. There is even a risk of them supporting an anti-democratic body such as the Colin Jordan outfit. It is only the Socialist who says "a plague on all their houses" and works on for the day when the alternative of common ownership will be known on a mass scale and Capitalist Society will be no more.



## Labour Conference

It has been obvious for a long time that the Labour Party leadership would be sweating on the top line over their Annual Conference this year.

Hungry, they watch a general election draw near, with the Tories getting the worst of the current by-elections. For some time they have held down the elements which the Conservative press have played up as the voters' bogey men, and Gaitskell has successfully disentangled his image from that of Foot, Cousins, the CND, and so on.

All this could have been upset by a big, headline-catching row at the Conference. And the issue which could easily have caused a row was the Common Market.

Gaitskell has decided that he has an election winner here. But outright opposition to the Common Market could have split the Labour Party anew and lost them a lot of votes.

Capitalism's political parties have had a lot of practice at dodging this sort of problem. The answer to it is to produce a statement which actually says nothing definite about the matter it is supposed to be dealing with.

So the Labour Party now says that, although it is a good idea for British capitalism to join Europe, it should only do so on conditions which make its ac-

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

ceptance by the Six all but impossible. This, they hope, will catch the votes of those who favour the Common Market and of those who do not.

The Labour Party also hoped—and they pulled it off—that the statement would suffocate any embarrassing questions and arguments at the Conference.

So there are several questions we can ask outside the Conference. And we hope they are embarrassing.

Is it worthwhile, even for voters who support capitalism, to vote for a party which cannot make up its mind on an important capitalist issue like the Common Market? Is it worth voting for a party which is so hungry for power that it will make any twist and turn if it thinks this will win a few measly votes?

And to the Labour Party members who call themselves Socialists: Can the Labour Party be a party of principle when it is so ready to bend its policy to any of capitalism's passing breezes? Should a Socialist Party bother about an issue of international capitalist economy like the Common Market?

And finally: Does the Labour Party stand for Socialism?

Answers to these five questions: No, no, no, no and no.

## Rail Strikes

The rail strikers haven't a hope of success.

Doctor Beeching has said that he thinks some sections of the railways can be run profitably and, as a preliminary to boosting these, he is busily cutting away

the dead wood of the other lines and services which do not pay.

This is quite in accordance with capitalist practice. Workers on the railways—and in other industries—who regularly revive capitalism with massive votes for its political parties at election time cannot logically complain when the system works in the only way it can.

Capitalism is always upsetting dreams. The dream of nationalisation, for example.

Many railwaymen, and their leaders, were hot for nationalisation in 1945 and did their best to return the Attlee government which brought the railways under state control.

Now this very state control has facilitated the run down of the railways. It has made easier the national financial survey and it will smooth the organisation of the closures.

The nationalisation fans have an excuse for this. State railways, they say, are a good idea. The trouble is that the Tories are determined to undermine them. This ignores the fact that Labour Party spokesmen, too, have faced up to the capitalist realities of nationalisation and have admitted that a Labour government would also be forced to close down a lot of lines and other services.

The fact is that nationalisation is something designed to solve the capitalists' problems; it does not even faintly disturb the property basis of society. This means that most state industries must in the end conform to the profit motive.

The time for railwaymen to be kicking up will be at the next election, when the Labour Party will once again be campaigning on all sorts of capitalist reforms

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

## SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

## DEBATES

Monday 19th November, 8 pm

## CND or SOCIALISM?

For CND: J. Mathieson

For SPGB: H. Baldwin

St. Alban's Hall, Manor Place  
Walworth Road, S.E.17

Thursday 19th November, 8 pm

## Which Party Should the Working Class Support—the Liberal Party or the SPGB?

The Labour Hall, Boston Avenue  
Southend-on-Sea

Liberal representative: Councillor Evans  
(Parliamentary Candidate for Southend East)

like nationalisation and calling them Socialism.

But it is a safe bet that the workers who have gained nothing from nationalisation will be voting and working for the party which stands for it.

## Soviet income tax

Income tax is a very sore spot with a lot of workers in this country who are convinced that they carry the burden of many of the taxes which the government imposes.

So when the Russian government announced last year that they would progressively reduce, and finally abolish, income tax, a lot was made of it by the Communist Party. British workers were encouraged to think of Russia as a tax-free country, which is currently something like their idea of heaven.

At the time it was obvious, mainly for two reasons, that the abolition would have little effect upon the Russian worker.

Income tax accounts for only a small part of the total tax levied in the Soviet Union, most of which is taken directly from industry in the form of turnover tax and profits tax.

Apart from this the Russian worker pays tax no more than does his counterpart in other countries. Abolishing income tax would have had no lasting effect upon his wages.

But now the Russian government has abandoned the plan. There will be no more reductions in income tax and it will not be abolished. Of course, there had to be excuses offered for this reversal of a policy that was so ballyhooed.

The whole thing was blamed upon the international situation. Just as workers in this country were once encouraged to blame Germany for the austerities and restrictions they endured, Russian

workers are now told that the Western powers are responsible for the upsetting of their government's plans.

All this makes nonsense of the Communist Party claim that Socialism exists in Russia. If the Soviet Union is so unable to insulate itself from the other capitalist powers that it cannot even have undisturbed control of its own tax system, how can it hope to establish Socialism, even if it wanted to?

And what sort of Socialism is supposed to exist in Russia, with a full-blown tax system (including, let us repeat, a *profit* tax) just like any openly capitalist nation?

There is only one answer to these questions. Socialism does not exist in Russia. The Soviet Union is a powerful capitalist state which has to juggle with its finances and to deceive its workers just as the U.S.A. and this country have to.

Russia must involve itself in the international disputes of capitalism and must watch these disputes destroying its plans.

Many people regard Russia as a workers' heaven. But all the evidence which comes from that country says that they are deceiving themselves.

## 'University' in Mississippi

From any point of view it is ridiculous that thousands of soldiers should be needed so that one person can go to school.

But the skin of James Meredith, who has been enrolled in the University of Mississippi, is a different colour from that of the students who have monopolised the University up to now.

So by asking to be enrolled, Meredith has stirred up some of the worst of the South's primitive prejudices and violence.

The United States government is on his side. American capitalism has decided that the Civil War was not fought

for nothing. Developing industry needs Negro labour because it cannot afford to ignore it. Segregation is inefficient and wasteful.

No part of the United States can be allowed to opt out of the American Union—to opt out, in fact, of the development of American capitalism—on such an important matter and on grounds of ancient prejudice.

So Washington has set itself to bust segregation in the South. It has done something towards this in the schools of some of the toughest states; in Georgia and Arkansas, for example. After Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama remain to be dealt with, fortresses of racial ignorance.

For ignorance is the only word to describe the objections which the Southern Americans have to be sitting in school with, or on a bus with, or to eating with, the Negroes.

Knowledge has exposed the old bigotries against people of a different skin colour. It is not possible scientifically to argue that a man with a black or brown or yellow skin is any different in human terms from one whose skin is a muddy pink.

Capitalism recognises this. Wherever and whenever it can, it recruits and exploits all sorts of people impartially. This means that the interests of all capitalists—to exploit their workers as intensely as possible—are the same, whatever the colour of the capitalists' skins. It also means that the interests of all workers of any colour—to end the system which exploits and degrades them—are the same.

The Mississippi rioters could not be more off the beam. They are scientifically wrong. They are behind the times of modern capitalism. And they are acting in complete contradiction of their own material working class interests.

Ridiculous. And worse.



## PAST AND PRESENT Remembrance Day poppycock

DID YOU BUY A POPPY? You probably did. And you probably stood still when the salutes were sounded at eleven o'clock in the morning on the eleventh, and remembered the millions who died in the two World Wars. Perhaps you knew somebody—a relative or a friend—who died among them; perhaps you were one who remembered with a deep personal grief. And perhaps, because you had remembered and you had bought your poppy—you and millions like you—you felt a bit better about it.

It is impossible not to feel sympathy. But it is even more difficult not to speak out against your illusions.

You probably think you were right to pop your money into the collecting box. The figures of the men who were crippled and blinded in the wars, and who cannot support themselves, are real enough. Obvious, too, is their plight. We sometimes get a look at them; there is, for example, a home for disabled ex-servicemen in West London which organises its own flag day in the summer, when it wheels some of its worst cases and plants them outside the local railway stations with a box propped upon their laps—or upon their chests. These men are pitifully shattered and have no hope of getting their living in the usual labour market. You think that if we all contribute something it would help them to solve that problem. Perhaps you think that only a niggard could resist the appeals to buy a flag or a poppy.

Yet we do not have to be misers to wonder how the whole thing started. And it is not for the sake of saving our coin in the box that we would like to stop it happening again. Why are these men forced to beg on the streets? To many people the answer to that question—The war, of course—closes the discussion, as if war is something which just happens, something to do with the Old Adam in us, or something to be blamed onto That Man in Berlin or Moscow or somewhere else. Anyway, nobody should stop to think about the whys and the wherefores: we should all get into uniform as soon as a war starts. If we're unlucky we'll get our name on one of the memorials or end up in a bath chair rattling a collection box.

This is exactly the attitude our masters like us to adopt. For those who unquestioningly accept a war are the easiest of

victims for the propaganda which prepares them for the next bout of blood-letting. They easily forget the promises which are offered to excuse one war and which are broken as the next draws near. Such people in this country forgot the promises which were made in 1914-18, that that was the war to end wars and the assurances they were given in 1945 that Europe—and especially Germany—would be so organised that international disputes would be impossible in the future. Such people in Germany forgot that their country was one of the guarantors of the Belgian frontiers which they coldly violated in 1914 and that in 1919 they signed a pact which bound them never to rearm. Pacts and promises are freely broken, the power blocs in the world regroup and rearm, the war propaganda switches effortlessly from one line to another. And you, as you drop your coin through the slot and take your poppy, accept and condone it all. The war, you murmur, it's the war. There's nothing anyone can do about that, is there?

We do not have to be misers to see that there is something we can do about it.

If you examine your poppy, you will see that it acknowledges a donation to the Haig Fund. You probably know that poppies are sold because they were the flowers which were thick in the cornfields of Flanders at the beginning of World War I, although by the time the fighting had rolled backwards and forwards over the countryside and had settled into the trenches where the guns and the gas could do their work there were very few poppies left. And you probably know who Haig was.

He was the man they gave £100,000 and an Earldom to, making him the first Earl Haig of Bemersyde in the County of Berwick, Viscount Dawick and Twentieth Laird of Bemersyde, for organising the deaths of hundreds of thousands of men. Haig was a sombre, withdrawn man who had notions that he was divinely appointed to lead his men to victory. Even for his time, his ideas were out of date. To the end, he dreamed of using his beloved cavalry on thrilling, lightning thrusts—although at the same time his infantry were finding it impossible to walk over the liquid battlefields he sent them across. His name is firmly linked with his own pet Big Push at Passchen-

daele, a bloody fiasco in which tens of thousands were lost to capture a few square miles of land and a heap of rubble which was anyway very soon recaptured by the Germans. It is easy now to be wise about Passchendaele, to remember the deep mud, to recall the official War Office publication which warns of the marshy nature of the Flanders countryside, and to ask, horrified, why the attack was ever allowed to happen. But perhaps the grimmest fact about it is that at the time, to the people who supported the war, Passchendaele seemed a very good idea. Haig had planned the offensive for a long time, confident that the attacks organised by the other Allied commanders would come to nothing and that he would be called upon to finish the war. The other attacks *did* come to nothing. So did Haig's, if by nothing we mean the massed dead, the fear and the pain and the shattered lives and in the end the Earldom—and the poppies.

### Cynicism

The poppies, in fact, are one of the unkindest cuts of all. There was, to be blunt, a cynical political reason for them. So great was the slaughter of that first war, so shocked was the world at what it had seen, that capitalism's masters realised that there were prospects of working class reaction. If these wars were to be a regular thing, something must appear to be done for the bits of men who came out of them. Possible resentment must be diverted from the disillusionment which was staring people in the face and fobbed off by unctuous gratitude for the penny in the box. How many of us can remember how this was done, in the years between the wars? The children drawn up in rows in the chill, depressing halls of working class schools with the dank November morning outside, being hectoring by sour teachers and told that the penny they had wrung from an unemployed father—who had himself survived the trenches—was a vital part of the great virtue of charity. (In those days, the capitalist class in England were more generous in their gratitude for the dead. They always had the Two Minute Silence on November 11th, no matter on what day of the week it fell. Now they make sure that Remembrance Day is

fixed for a Sunday so that production is not interrupted and nobody gets two minutes off.)

We said that we would be blunt. This is the reason for the charity sop which capitalism so carefully fosters. Charity stifles protest at the inhumanities of capitalism and it goes some of the way to conceal the true causes of our problems.

Charity solves nothing. The unemployed man in the 'thirties did not solve his problems by buying a poppy—and neither did he solve the problems of the men he thought he was helping. This is still true, even though post-war inflation means that it may be sixpence which goes into the collecting box more often than a penny. The very best that charity can do is to spread—ever so thinly, at that—a little working class poverty from one group of workers to another. Charity to the war disabled stifles the protests at their conditions and diverts the question which asks why they are broken and needy as they are.

Wars are as much a part of capitalist society as buying and selling. In fact, they are conceived and executed and fought so that buying and selling can go on. So that one power can buy its oil, or uranium, or rubber, or something else,

in the most convenient and cheapest market. So that it can sell its cars or steel or chemicals in the places where it can get a good price for them. So that its ships and aircraft can carry its commodities to any place where the price is right. So that, in a nutshell, the profit motive of capitalism can be satisfied.

An essential part of this profit making is that enough people can turn out the wealth and make it possible to sell it profitably. But there would be no sense in the employers paying these people the same as the value of what they had made. There would be no profit in that. So the workers are in general paid only enough to keep them; enough to give them what they need to get up steam again for another bout of wealth production and profit making. This means that most people have to go out to work for their living and that in return they get a wage which is about enough for them to live a distinctly restricted, unambitious life and to turn out more workers who will live and work in exactly the same way.

This applies for as long as the worker is able to work. But if for some reason he loses his ability then his livelihood is lost with it and his only hope is the charity of other people. This is what

has happened to the war disabled men, the men you bought your poppy for.

As long as there are people to buy the poppies without question, there will be the social system which makes war and as long as there is war there will be the wounded who will need charity and who will make the poppies for people to buy without question. . . This grisly circle could go on forever, in a descending spiral of madness and destruction.

Anybody who cares about human welfare should look for another way of dealing with this situation. It is worse than futile to be charitable to the men who come out of capitalism's wars, the men who are some of the worst victims of the poverty which capitalism forces upon all its workers, and at the same time support the continuance of capitalism.

It is better—and this is no miser's talk—to get down to some reasoning about the causes of the poverty and the unhappiness which so deeply scars the world today. It is even better to come up with right answer. Socialism is the most plentiful and happy world we can have. And because of that it is a world away from the futile charity with which so many people excuse their toleration of capitalism today.

IVAN.

## RHODESIAN BACKGROUND

IN South and East Africa lives that peculiar person, the white settler. To some people he is a farmer who has robbed the African of his land. But, in fact, especially in southern Africa, most Europeans are ordinary workers or business men. Many can't really be called settlers since they were born in Africa and have never been to Europe.

The two most important areas, South Africa and Rhodesia, are moving politically in opposite directions. South Africa has chosen "apartheid" or separate development; Rhodesia appears to be moving, however slowly, towards a society in which a man will not be judged by the colour of his skin. But certain actions—or lack of actions—of the Southern Rhodesian Government have raised doubts about its sincerity when it talks of partnership. First, it has until now been slow to remove legal discriminations against Africans and, second, it has taken very wide powers, encroaching considerably on recognised civil liberties, to deal with anything it regards as a threat to law and order.

Three trade union leaders were recently sentenced to eight months hard labour under these laws for calling for a general strike in Salisbury last May.

The ruling United Federal Party does not, however, stand for white supremacy. It stands for free enterprise capitalism and represents the growing multi-racial business class. By a unanimous decision of its 1961 Conference the UFP is committed to remove all legal discriminations against Africans which Cabinet Minister Abrahamson has denounced as "morally wrong and absolutely indefensible." This, of course, includes the notorious Land Apportionment Act which means that it is no longer true to say, if ever it was, that "multiracialism" is but another name for Verwoerd's fascist policy of apartheid.

The European business man is in favour of African advancement for a number of reasons. Firstly, he knows that Africans can eventually be trained to be as skilled as any European and, secondly, he sees in the Africans a vast expanding market for his goods. The

capitalist in Africa therefore tends everywhere to be an opponent of racial privilege. He is against racism, black or white; in fact he generally wants to be free to employ the man he considers to be the most suitable for the job, regardless of race or colour.

The European worker, however, is not so keen on African advancement. He sees the African as a threat to his job. Most European workers are craftsmen, a section of the working class which the march of capitalism everywhere tends to eliminate. The skilled worker is replaced by the semi-skilled machine operative. In Europe and America the redundant craftsman tends to feel resentment against those who replace him, but in Central Africa the position appears more dangerous since the man who would take his job has a black skin. As a result many of the European workers support parties wanting to "keep the African in his place." These, together with a section of the farmers and others still living in the past, provide the bulk of the support for the main European opposition



party, the Rhodesia Front. This party looks South for inspiration and, although it has African members, it is the party of white supremacy.

The main African nationalist party is, or was, the recently banned Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union led by "Great" Nkomo. ZAPU is the recognised Pan-Africanist party in Southern Rhodesia (or Zimbabwe) and has the blessing of the Osagyefo in Accra. The main ZAPU demand for "One man, one vote" has won it the support of a number of European and Asian radicals. African support, however, is won on a different basis. ZAPU flourishes among Africans on widespread discontent over low wages, unemployment and land reform. This is not something peculiar to Africa, for the birth of capitalism is always accompanied by unrest. In Central Africa this unrest appears as African resistance to white authority, as African nationalism.

## Migrant worker

Owing to what is known as the migrant labour system, most African workers are extremely poor. The migrant worker circulates between two different social systems, the so-called "subsistence economy" and capitalism. He spends a part of the year in his farm in the tribal reserve and a part working for money in other industries. Altogether about two-thirds of the African labour force are migrant workers. This system tends to hold wages down to a level sufficient only to maintain a single worker while staying in the "location." As a result, many of the African families who have settled permanently in the towns live in extreme poverty. The recent Phillips Report on the development of Southern Rhodesia describes further how this system keeps wages down: "The large and elastic supply of workers seeking employment in urban activities restrains a rise in wages, while the impermanence of this labour supply reduces the wage the employers are prepared to pay."

The employers would like to see the migrant labour system ended and to see a stable working class paid a "reasonable" wage, perhaps double the present minimum, take its place as soon as possible. They recognise, however, that their system cannot at present "provide every African urban family with an income adequate to secure minimum nutritional, housing and other standards." "Unhappily," explains the Report, "there is not enough wealth in the country to effect changes on this scale for the mass of the people." This is not true for Rhodesia could, if properly irrigated, and if the mineral sources were

fully exploited, more than provide an "adequate" income for its inhabitants. What the report means is that capitalism cannot use this wealth.

The African who is employed is badly enough off but many don't even have the privilege of trying to live on near-starvation wages. These are the 70,000 or so unemployed. Unemployment is something new for Africans. "Before the Europeans settled in this country," writes one paper:

and before they brought their chaos creating institutions, unemployment was unknown, hence the lack of this term in any African dialect. There are other words such as 'Simbe' in Shona; this means a lazy person who does not want to work. This differs well from a person who is unemployed because there is just no work for him although he wants it. The whole African population lived on land and everybody who could do some work found it. There was ploughing and harvesting, ironmongery as well as many other crafts. Women were busy with domestic chores and also assisted on the land. Everyone had a piece of land to work as the whole land belonged to them. The chiefs only held it in trust for national use.

The "chaos-creating institution" which the Europeans brought was capitalism, and ever since they first settled in Rhodesia in the 1890's the traditional African way of life has been threatened. Soon after their arrival the Europeans imposed a poll tax on the Africans to force them to spend a part of their time working for wages. Hence arose the migrant labour system.

Before the situation arose which led to the passing of the Native Land Husbandry Act in 1951 the African peasant seeking work in the town would either find it or return home to his farm. But the LHA put an end to this, for it had the same effect as the Enclosure Acts in England: it drove Africans to the towns by making them landless. The Act was revolutionary as it introduced a new concept to the African peasant: private ownership, albeit conditional, of land.

The primary aim was to eliminate soil erosion and overstocking and to bring the African peasant into the money economy. A stable African peasantry was to be created with a stable urban working class. Under the Act all indigenous Africans, who were actually cultivating land in a given area at the time at which the Act was proclaimed to apply to that area, were entitled to a certain prescribed acreage of arable land. This meant that any African from the area working in town at the time of the proclamation was dispossessed; overnight he became landless. Now the African peasant believes not only that everybody has the right to use the land, but also that

nobody has the right to own it. So that such a revolutionary change as the Act envisaged was bound to create a reaction; the situation was aggravated by the fact that thousands of those entitled to a holding got no land. ZAPU has taken advantage of this land hunger and rural unrest and has been making headway in traditionally conservative areas.

In Rhodesia the vote is at present restricted to those with certain educational and income qualifications which means that although nearly all Europeans, Coloureds and Asians have the vote, only a small percentage of the Africans do. ZAPU says this is wrong and demands "one man, one vote." The UFP feels, however, that were it to grant this immediately, dictatorship would rapidly follow.

Pan-Africanism or Pan-African Black Fascism as it has been justly called, certainly is totalitarian and racist, rejecting democracy as "un-African" and "Western." At present, however, ZAPU is able to pose as the champion of democratic liberties, just as the Communists are in such countries as Spain and Portugal. This is in accordance with the pattern elsewhere: in opposition the Pan-Africanists shout loudest for democracy, but once in power show scant regard for political or trade union opposition. The ZAPU protest, when they were banned, that African political freedom had gone was so much cant. For ZAPU, and especially its Youth League, has used all kinds of intimidation to terrorize those Africans who oppose them. The banning of ZAPU merely illustrates the fate of those who choose to challenge the State directly by using violent or illegal means to get what they want.

A.L.B.

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.

Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Palone, P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

## PART TWO The rise of Yugoslavia

THE NEW constitution of 1945 brought ninety per cent. of Yugoslav industry under State control. Only those which were not worth bothering about were allowed to escape, such as shoe making, watch repairing, innkeeping, etc. Agrarian reform dispossessed the old landlords and distributed the land to the peasants according to family size. "The land should belong to those who cultivate it," was the cry, but this was no common ownership, only the handing over of land from one set of private owners to another.

In any case, the peasants' troubles were by no means at an end. They still had to sell their agricultural produce in a market, capricious and uncertain as markets are. So that in times of glut it was less costly to leave salad stuff and soft fruit to rot, than to try and sell it. An old and familiar problem, by the way, and one of the many which prompted the start of collectivisation in 1949.

As we mentioned in Part I, there was much reconstruction and industrialisation to complete, and as early as 1946, the government had announced a five year plan aiming at 400 per cent. increase in industrial production. Belgrade called for workers to assist with voluntary

labour, and the response found expression in such projects as the gigantic iron works "Lilostroy" of Ljubljana, the Samac-Sarajevo and Doboj-Banjaluca Railroads and the Cetinje hydro-electric power station.

But in other ways also, Yugoslavia was making her presence felt. Tito had visited Stalin in 1945, and signed a treaty of mutual assistance. Russian technicians and military advisers went to Yugoslavia as a "help to fraternal countries" and quite clearly the country was earmarked for inclusion in the Soviet sphere of influence. Tito and his henchmen began to doubt the wisdom of allowing so much Soviet infiltration and signs of a rift were apparent at an early stage.

It has been said that the 1948 disagreement between the two states was a battle waged for Yugoslavia's "Socialism" against Russian "Stalinism," but this is quite untrue, if only for the reason that there never was any Socialism in Yugoslavia anyway. Tito himself came nearer to the mark when he said at the time:

The real issue is the relation between one state and another. In my view they are using ideological questions as a pretext for putting pressure on us and our state.

The Yugoslav government strongly resisted the Russian attempts to regulate buying and selling between the Cominform States, seeing it as a threat to their already weak economy.

Nor must we forget the part that Yugoslav/Albanian relations played in widening the breach. Moscow and Belgrade had agreed in principle to the unification of the two states and already their economies were becoming linked, with Yugoslav influence predominating. But the Russians were taken unawares by the subsequent agreements (signed without consulting them) to allow Yugoslav forces to be stationed in Albanian territory. According to Milovan Djilas, who was deeply involved in the dispute with Moscow, it was this military move most of all which persuaded Stalin that in Tito he had a rival rather than an ally. Yugoslavia was promptly expelled from the Cominform to the accompaniment of the most violent abuse.

In 1955, there was some reconciliation between Yugoslavia and the USSR, and since then Tito has managed to sit precariously on a rather wobbly fence, obtaining economic aid from both sides of the Iron Curtain, but refusing to join either power bloc, at least for the time being. It remains to be seen how long he can play one side off against the other in his efforts to win economic elbow room for his ruling class. Only recently, America has scaled down her financial assistance to Yugoslavia, causing Belgrade to go into a panic-stricken huddle. One result has been a renewed demand for farm collectivisation, although many of Tito's colleagues remember its previous failure and are not enthusiastic. Neither are the peasants, who want to remain proprietors in their own right and not become agricultural wage workers.

Yet this may well be the future tendency, as industry develops and the demand for labour increases. The old peasant family proprietorship will be regarded as wasteful of labour and efficiency, and there is likely to be increasing interference by the State. There is a growing working class today in Yugoslavia facing the same sort of problems as their brothers elsewhere. Sooner or later they will have to get down to an appreciation of the need for Socialism, but there is no sign of this happening, as yet.

In the meantime, it is interesting to speculate on the future role of Yugoslavia in the changing pattern of capitalist world politics. A glance at the map will show the strategy of her position with an Adriatic coastline facing Italy and frontiers with Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Austria and Italy. As her industries develop, we may well see her jostling for a share of the markets in an increasingly competitive world. But it is difficult to view her future as other than that of a minor capitalist power at most. This does after all make sense in a world where even Germany, France and Britain—the major powers of yesterday—have been ousted from dominance, and the arena left to America and Russia, two colossi of capitalism, glaring at each other in sullen anger.

(Concluded)

REMY STARC.

## Catford Town Hall

## CHALLENGE TO DEBATE

we have challenged  
our political opponents  
to put their case  
against the SPGB.

Tuesday, 27 November  
7.30 pm.



## TROUBLE IN AGRICULTURE

One of the big question marks over the Common Market talks has to do with agriculture. British farmers are worried about what might happen to them if Britain is accepted by the Six, and Commonwealth countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand are afraid for their exports of wheat, meat, and dairy produce.

British fruit growers and market gardeners see a dire threat to their interests from efficient Dutch production and from cheap Italian output ripened under natural sunshine instead of in heated glasshouses. And if Denmark eventually joins there will also be intensified competition from Danish bacon and butter.

But looming over all of them, British or Common Market, is the shadow of French competition. Only now beginning to rise to its full potentialities, with one half of the total agricultural land of the Six, the most favourable climate for agriculture in Europe, and soil fertility higher than the average, French agriculture threatens them all. With a negligible amount of farm machinery at work on its farms after the war, it is now mechanising rapidly. Tractors and combine harvesters are now replacing animals and men in ever-increasing numbers.

### The shadow of surplus

Production has been rising steadily in recent years and the French Government is becoming increasingly concerned about rapidly mounting surpluses of cereals, butter and milk products, and beef, as well as fruit and vegetables. This year there will be a record wheat harvest of 13 million tons (the previous highest was 11½ million tons in 1959) which compares with the present U.K. estimate of 3.3 million tons. The French export surplus is likely to exceed in fact the total U.K. output.

The situation will be eased somewhat since the maize crop has been cut to a quarter of normal by drought. But this year's results in general have served to re-inforce the warning to the rest of Europe that with every year that passes France will be a more and more dangerous threat—and to the French Govern-

ment that they are in for bigger and bigger headaches. The French Minister of Agriculture has already announced that "the fighting aim of 1963 will be the conquest of the external markets."

### The same pattern

As usual under capitalism, this ever-increasing production is coming from fewer and fewer workers. Statistics show that, as in most other countries, the population living off the land is falling. The farmers are leaving the land and going into the towns. In France, there are 12 per cent. less people in agriculture than there were six years ago. Just how far this process still has to go is shown by the fact that it still leaves 20 per cent. of the population on the land, compared with 3 per cent. in this country.

There are clearly still great changes to come in French agriculture—and their repercussions are likely to be wide.

### More absurdity

The shattering losses made by B.O.A.C. this year (no less than £65 million) reflect once more the crazy capitalist world we live in.

One of the main reasons for these losses has been, we are told, the frantic efforts made by the company to keep up with the constant developments in aircraft. So swift are the changes that

## NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE

THE RICH ARE always sensitive about the sufferings of the poor; not, of course, to the point of being willing to get off their backs, but at least to the point of being glad to be told from time to time that the poor are not as poor as they used to be and that if any are it is their own fault. Such assurance is a great comfort to the rich. It carried them safely through the miseries of a dozen slumps and made them (and still makes them) genuinely

planes have to be put on the scrap heap long before they have given their full term of useful life. That nearly all the other major airlines of the world are doing the same thing, and suffering equally crippling losses in the process, only makes the situation more farcical.

The apologist for capitalism will, of course, reply that progress must always be allowed full scope and that the new planes constantly coming forward will be better and safer than their predecessors. Even this is not true. The Press has been full of stories recently about whether safety is not being sacrificed in the bitter struggle among the national airlines. Allegations have been made that the strain of the new and ever more complicated aircraft on their pilots is becoming too intense, that they are being worked more hours than is safe, and that many airfields are just incapable of meeting properly the demands of the new machines.

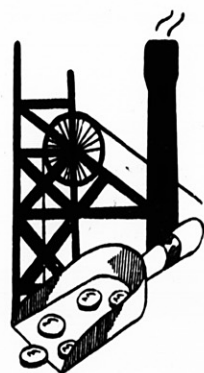
### Tailpiece

We discuss elsewhere Professor Titmuss's new book exploding the myth of growing economic equality—a subject incidentally to which we have ourselves given attention in recent issues. Samuel Brittan in the *Observer* (he is Economic Editor) gave a useful review of it recently. But the most interesting few lines of his article were those in which he defined the capitalist class in a paragraph at the end. Here they are:

The existence of a separate class of people who own the means of production (including land) and are not therefore dependent on their own personal earning power is still the basic characteristic of capitalism. . . .

Our own definition, in fact. True he spoils it all by bringing in Russia later on, but it's a crumb of enlightenment all the same.

S. H.



equality of income and property between the workers and the property owners. Already the defenders of capitalism were at work suggesting that it used to be even more unequal and that things were improving daily. Ever since then there has been a continuous stream of that kind of propaganda. It was flowing strongly in the depression between the wars, as the following samples show:

It appears safe to say that the distribution of capital is less unequal than it was before the war. (*Manchester Guardian*, 12 March 1936).

. . . the great re-distribution of wealth and income that has happened in this country since the war. . . . (*Times Literary Supplement*, 7 March 1936).

The gap between rich and poor in this country shows every sign of continuing to grow smaller. (*Star*, 9 April 1936).

The line has changed since then; not that it has been given up, but the dates have been altered and the great improvement is now supposed to have taken place since 1936, not before. In truth, apart from the continued post-war conditions of very low unemployment (which does not look so secure now) the main features of ownership of capital and division and of national income appear to have altered very little over a long period. Which explains why the stream of propaganda about alleged growing equality gets interrupted from time to time by statistical inquiries showing how little, if any, change there actually has been.

We have just had such an inquiry in Professor Titmuss' *Income Distribution and Social Change* (Allen and Unwin, 25s.). He refers to the widespread opinion among politicians and economists that this country had become more a much more equal society than it was before the war and sets out to examine again the statistical material on which this opinion has rested. He makes many criticisms of the material on national income distribution and the way it has been interpreted (and also some criticisms of statistics of ownership of wealth). He holds that the earlier studies may have reached wrong conclusions; there is, he claims, need for a re-examination because the belief in greater equality of income distribution may be seriously in error.

But no matter what Professor Titmuss writes about it, the propaganda claiming that things are better than they were will persist.

Among other reasons, it always suits the political party in power to argue that its policies have had or will have a beneficial effect in the direction of diminishing poverty and it can be taken as certain that there will be an almost universal agreement in the Press and elsewhere not

to consider doing anything that matters about the fundamental social issue of the means of production and distribution, land, factories, etc., being owned by a small minority of the population. A case in point is the review of Titmuss' book by Samuel Brittan in the *Observer* (Sept. 30th, 1962). He recognises, as does Titmuss, that distribution of income cannot be considered apart from the ownership of wealth, and actually remarks that "the

whole subject of inequality is largely discussed without hypocrisy. The basic question is the ownership of personal wealth." Yet this promising opening leads on to the pettifogging and irrelevant proposal that there should be "a moderate and graduated annual tax on personal wealth in the upper incomes."

Just how this is supposed to alter the basic situation is not explained.

H.

## FORERUNNER OF COMMON MARKET

THE CONTINENTAL politicians, business men and lawyers who have spent years discussing, negotiating and drafting the Treaty of Rome and its accompanying agreements for the establishment of the European Economic Community must often have been reminded of a half century of work on the German Customs Union (ZOLLVEREIN) that reached its culmination in 1871 in Bismark's German Empire. What happened then in Germany may not, at first sight, appear to bear comparison with the formation of a European Common Market by six separate governments, but the earlier event was in fact an even more complicated business.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century what was later to become a united Germany consisted of 289 separate states, each with its own government and frontiers, as well as 61 cities which were almost self-governing. These states were separated from each other by toll charges and tariffs, by different coinages, weights and measures and different legal systems, not to mention the frequently almost impassable roads.

In the conflict between the rulers of Prussia and Austria as to which was to dominate central Europe, the Customs Union was to prove a powerful weapon in the hands of Prussia though at the outset its possibilities were so little realized that the Prussian government actually had Austrian approval. It started in 1819 as a Free Trade area for Prussia's own scattered territories, behind a Customs barrier. As Prussia completely surrounded some of the smaller states and controlled the main trade routes into Central Germany, it was possible for the Prussian authorities to impose heavy transit charges on goods crossing Prussian territory and to put pressure on other states to induce them to join the Union.

It was not until the eighteen thirties that the Union expanded among the more important of the other German states with the accession of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Baden and the city of Frankfurt. An attempt by Hanover (under the British Crown until 1837) to form a rival union of North German states was a failure and the question of admitting Austria produced some of the kind of difficulties that now arise for the British Government through its links with the Commonwealth countries. Austria at that time controlled Hungary, Lombardy and Venice as well as being influential in the policies of the other governments in what is now Italy. The issue was whether Austria should enter the Customs Union bringing Hungary and Italy along too, and whether the latter were to be excluded from what purported to be a Union of German Peoples. In the long run it was settled by military means with the crushing defeat of the Austrian Army in the "seven weeks war" at Sadowa in 1866. From then onwards Austria was no longer in a position to challenge or hinder the achievement of German unity under Prussian leadership.

What the Customs Union gained for German capitalism was that after the eighteen thirties the major part of Germany formed an economic entity. Communications were improved, an identical system of weights, measures and currency introduced, and prices fell and became uniform. At first the trading and economic changes brought no corresponding political changes, and as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has it: "it was not until later that Bismark was able to utilize the Union for the furtherance of his schemes for National unity."

Among the internal industries that thrived behind the tariff protection of the



Customs Union were German wine production, sugar beet growing and processing, and tobacco growing, with the corresponding decline of imports from abroad and loss of trade in what had been the ports of entry. There had been no question of Britain and France being allowed to join the German Customs Union, which was of course intended to operate as a protection for home industries against cheap imports from those two countries among others.

H. de B. Gibbins in his *Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century* had this to say about the British and French reactions to the Customs Union:

One effect of it was seen at once in the imposition of severely protective duties on all foreign manufacturers, though the raw materials for home manufactures were wisely admitted free. The result was that England and France did not regard the Zollverein with much favour. . . .

One of the tasks the Prussian ruling class had to carry out in Germany was to break down very strong local "patriotisms" of the multiplicity of German states, and replace them with an all-German patriotism.

It took time, but long before the end of the nineteenth century, German patriotism could compete in stupidity and fervour with anything the other

empires and republics could boast. Nowadays we hear supporters of the European Common Market who argue that getting into a group of countries, since it means giving up some of the independence of each country, is a step towards internationalism. The argument is fallacious because in a capitalist world the only difference between the isolated country and the group of countries is that the later is industrially and militarily more powerful—it does not diminish the international antagonisms. Association with the European Common Market is no more a step towards internationalism than is association with the British Commonwealth or membership of United Nations.

It is to the point to recall that when the German Customs Union was absorbing economically the separate German states as a prelude to unifying them politically, there were people who fancied they could see that, too, as a step towards international brotherhood. Gustav Schmoller, the German professor of political science wrote his book, *The Mercantile System* round the theme that "historical progress has consisted mainly in the establishment of ever larger and larger communities as the controllers of economic policy in place of small." It was illustrated chiefly from Prussian history. Writing in 1884 when Europe

was already conscious of growing European tensions over trade and colonies and the consequent threat of war, Schmoller was nevertheless able to deceive himself about the part played by the formation of the larger economic group he wrote about. He admitted that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the conduct of the separate nations had been "characterised by a selfish national commercial policy of a harsh and rude kind," and pointed to the way England had reached commercial supremacy by 1800 "by means of its tariff and naval wars, frequently with extraordinary violence," but he could imagine that capitalism had later changed and that "the struggle . . . had a tendency, with the progress of civilisation, to assume a higher character and to abandon its coarsest and most brutal weapons."

Schmoller thought he could see the capitalist jungle being tamed or civilised by the formation of leagues of states, by alliances for customs and trade questions, and by the growth of international law which was bringing into existence "the moral and legal community of all civilised states."

How wrong he was; but no more blind to the realities of capitalism than are most of those who now argue for and against the European Common Market.

H.

## What is value?

PRIVATE PROPERTY, commodities and value are a troublesome trinity unless we understand them. There are three important aspects of value. The first is its purely social character which shows itself in buying and selling. The second is abstract human labour as the social substance of value. The third is the quantity of social labour which determines the magnitude of value. Buying and selling is the mode of exchanging wealth today. It involves careful weighing, measuring and counting against price to ensure that equal amounts of values change hands.

Exchange is a social act in which value is measured. In order to do this, a commodity must be related to some other commodity, different in kind, in which it can express its value. The value of the article, is, at all times, the chief concern of its owner. But it must be a use value to people other than its owner. In all equations, the article on the relative side expresses its value in the one on the equivalent side.

As an imaginary example of the ele-

mentary form of relative value we can equate a coat to a pair of shoes. In this case, the coat, occupying the relative side, is expressing its value in the material form of shoes. If we invert the equation we then express the value of the shoes. However, provided that each person sees, in the other's useful article, a value content equal to that of his own, exchange takes place. Equal amounts of value are realised in the useful form of each other's goods. As property owners both are satisfied.

In such equations it appears, on the surface, that value is an inherent, an intrinsic or material part of the commodities. This is an illusion. All value equations are social relations between men in society in which the legal transfer of ownership of property is determined on the basis of equal amounts of value being exchanged. It should be obvious that such acts can only take place in private property based societies.

The question now is—how is the ratio of exchange accurately determined? All

useful articles differ greatly. Take coats and shoes, for example; they differ in material, form and purpose. The concrete (or producers') labour in them is also very different. We have spinning, weaving, tailoring, tanning and shoemaking. It is productive labour which creates use values; both the labour and the articles are material in character and are different in quantity and quality. They cannot be measured in these forms.

If we disregard the specific type of the work (engineers, bakers, etc.) we reduce it all to the expenditure of human skill and energy in wealth production. The common denominator is therefore, abstract human labour. This is common to all commodities and is our measuring rod. Concrete labour produces use value whereas abstract labour creates values. It is important to note that value-creating labour must be useful, socially necessary, and of average skill and intensity. Irrespective of all differences in their material form or usefulness, all commodities are embodied

ments of the social substance abstract human labour. Social labour, whether simple or complex, measures, in time, from the smallest fractions upward.

The magnitude of the value of any commodity is easily determined. In making this abstraction we are merely following the general practice in science. For example, we have steam, petrol, gas and diesel engines, etc.; all different forms of energy. In abstraction we reduce all of them to power and express it in units of horse power. If we now look at our equation (one coat equals one pair of shoes) we see that as embodiments of human labour the coat and the shoes are similar in quality and, as units containing x hours of social labour, they are equal in quantity. Equal amounts of labour time will always produce equal amounts of value.

Commodity production and exchange extended and developed from the elementary form of value, through expanded relative forms and general forms,

to the present money form. This latter is its fully developed form and it works efficiently in expressing value. As Marx said, gold is not by nature money, though money is by nature gold. Gold functions socially, as a universal equivalent, as a measure of value, a standard of price, means of payment and a medium of exchange and circulation. In this capacity it functions as money and becomes the social form of value.

In this, its social function, it assumes an independent form of value because it measures value in its own bodily form and is socially accepted as the material form of value. It stands on one side of the relationship, the equivalent side, as value, opposed to all other commodities on the relative side. In this dazzling role gold appears as a sort of king amongst commodities. However, as a humble commodity, gold is no different from salt, oil or coal. Its value is determined in precisely the same way as all other merchandise. One coat equals one pair of shoes, or one ton of coal, or ten pounds sterling—all of these are different forms of the products of social labour and contain equal amounts of it, are in quality and quantity equal as values.

The exalted position which gold in its money capacity occupies is due primarily to its being a commodity and secondly to its nature as a metal, which renders it eminently suitable for its job. It contains great value in small bulk, is readily coinable and measures value from the smallest fraction upwards. In addition, it enables large quantities of accumulated wealth to be easily stored. As money it is the universally accepted social form of value. It represents the incarnation of abstract human labour and is the materialised form of value. It crosses all international frontiers and encounters no barriers. As a consequence of all this it also serves as universal social use value. The owners of money have immediate access to anything in the world of commodities, in proportion to the amount they have. The owners of all other articles for sale are constantly striving to attract money from the pockets of its owners.

While value is not a physical or material property of any article it is nevertheless a social reality of great importance. It finds its fully developed form in capitalism, in general commodity production. Men, women and children are converted into buyers and sellers whose major social relationships are value relationships. We socialists have abolished the spiritual trinity and impatiently await the workers organising to abolish the social trinities of private property commodities and value, and, with them rent, profit and interest.

J. H.



November 1912

## OBJECTIONS

### TWO OBJECTIONS to Socialism —

The avowed opponent of the Socialist movement takes up one of two positions of attack, each antagonistic to the other.

One brand of "anti" informs us, with horror, that Socialism means slavery and vile servitude; that the abolition of capitalism will involve the establishment of prostitution and horrors the like of which capitalism never knew. The other variety tells us that "Socialism is a grand ideal—far too good to be true." They explain that for Socialism to "work" we have all got to be as heavenly as angels, and they point in despair to the touch of "the old Adam" which they discern in all human kind.

Each type has its cause, and, like most other evils, its cure also. The first is the result of the cast-iron "State capitalism" preached by the Fabian tribe under the name of Socialism, while the second is due to the prevalence of the disease misnamed "Christian Socialism."

The "Socialism means slavery" merchant is easily disposed of, for no matter how vivid his imagination may be, he cannot discover one evil which is not found to be rampant in some form under capitalism.

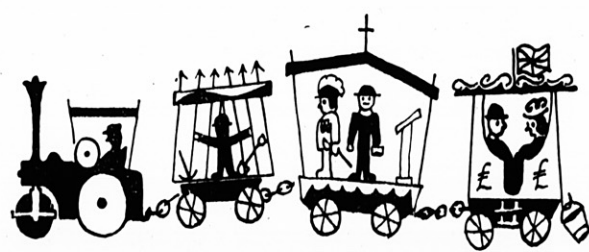
Neither can he show how such evils will be increased by the advent of Socialism, which means to substitute organised social production and social enjoyment for the present chaotic "social" production and private ownership of the wealth produced. That slavery will be more intense under a system of state capitalism is for the advocate of nationalisation to deny, and has no concern for the Socialist.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD  
November 1912.

The **WESTERN  
SOCIALIST**  
Journal for Socialism  
in the  
U.S.A and Canada  
6d monthly



# THE PASSING SHOW



## Details

The system which exists today in Russia is clearly capitalism. All the classic features of capitalism are there—commodity production, wage-labour, employment (which couldn't exist without employers and employed), currency, the coercive forces of the state, and so on. Naturally, the historical background of the development of capitalism in Russia, and the immediate circumstances in which capitalism came into being there, meant that some minor details of capitalism in Russia differ from details in those countries where capitalism had a longer and slower development. In particular, the very speed with which the old system collapsed, and the new one was introduced, demanded that the state itself, the central committee of the capitalist class, should play a much larger part in the establishment of the new order than it had done in western Europe and North America. Of course, since that time state capitalism has been more and more introduced into the older-established capitalist states; but it has not yet, and one does not know if it ever will, come to play such a part in Western capitalism as it does in the capitalist systems established in Russia, China, India, the African states, and so on.

## Proposals

However, even in these comparatively minor details, there is coming to be less and less difference between Russian and Western capitalism. Not only are state planning and control playing a larger part in western capitalism; other changes are being mooted in Russia itself. As *The Times* said on October 3rd, "Proposals are at present under discussion in Russia to link the remuneration of workers to the profits made by their enterprises in relation to the investments made in them." Since these and other proposals have aroused controversy, *Pravda* has recently printed what it calls "a previously unpublished version of a document dictated by Lenin in 1918."

## Raising labour productivity

"Lenin argued that political victory over the capitalists had been won and the struggle was passing to the economic

sphere. Those who had formerly sought to sabotage the Bolshevik cause were now (in 1918) offering their services to the new state. It was of the utmost importance to take advantage of these offers and harness to the communist cause the best methods and systems of capitalism.

"He proposed that highly paid experts be hired from the United States and elsewhere as consultants and managers. Bourgeois staff and also their methods of labour organization could be used if they helped to raise production. The old world had created systems of labour organization which were diabolical methods for exploiting the worker. At the same time these systems are 'the last word in the scientific organization of production' and should be copied in the Soviet Union where they would lose their noxious character.

"An example was the system of Mr. F. W. Taylor, the American engineer who perfected 'scientific management'—on which present day time-and-motion studies and 'work study' are to a large extent based. 'We must apply Taylor's system and American scientific methods of raising labour productivity throughout Russia,' Lenin wrote, for under Soviet conditions it would lead to a shortening of working hours and an improvement in conditions of work." *THE TIMES* 3/10/62

## Latest methods

All Lenin was calling for was what could have been expected from any leader of a new capitalist revolution: the application of the latest and best methods (best, that is, from the capitalists' point of view) which had been evolved in the older capitalist states. As might have been foreseen, when Lenin attempted to square all this with his own statements that the Bolsheviks were really introducing Socialism in Russia, common sense was thrown overboard. *Pravda* even quotes him as saying that "Socialism has to be learnt to a great extent from the leaders of the trusts, Socialism has to be learnt from the major organizers of capitalism."

As to that, one can only say that all you can learn from the major organizers of capitalism is how to organize capitalism; and all you can learn from the leaders of trusts is how to lead trusts.

These statements, quoted by *Pravda* from the greatest figure of the Russian revolution, must surely go far to convince anyone who is still open to reason that Russia is capitalist.

## Contrast

On the back of *The Times* recently there were some photographs of scenes in Peru, and the text beside them read "Peru is a land of contrast and anomaly. It is a rich country where there are also austerity and poverty."

No wonder there is a saying that the onlooker sees most of the game. The writer of the text saw clearly the social position in Peru. Perhaps if he lived in Peru, he would see just as clearly the "contrast and anomaly," the riches and poverty side by side, which exist in Britain.

## Hard work

Not long ago there was an advert in the daily press from a man who claimed he had amassed £300,000 "through hard work." As it stands, no one could take exception to the statement. It would be impossible for anyone to amass three hundred thousand pounds without a great deal of hard work.

In fact, only one question remains unanswered.

Whose hard work was it?

ALWYN EDGAR.



## essential reading

Capitalist-Worker-Class Struggle	6d.
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

## BOOKS

# A plea for human survival

CATCH-22, by Joseph Heller, Jonathan Cape, 18s.

This is a brilliant, powerful, bitter book.

The military machine is one of capitalism's ugliest children. Ugly not only because it is a killer machine, but also because of the discipline, stupidity and wastefulness which its killer motive compels it to have. Some workers glory in these things. They never forget their days in the Forces; they join ex-service-men's associations, parade in their campaign medals, perpetuate the slang they learned in the Nissen huts.

CATCH-22 looks at all this with the searing eye of remorseless satire. Colonel Cathcart commands a squadron of American bombers based on a small Mediterranean island. He is the sort of man the medal-janglers love; military bearing, tough on the outside, contemptuous of weaklings. Contemptuous, too, of Yossarian. Although the Colonel never actually flies on any of them, he is always ready to volunteer his men for the most dangerous raids on schedule. And he persistently increases the number of missions they must carry out before they are allowed to go home.

Yossarian—the hero (if that is the right word) of the book—is a bombardier who is afraid of being killed or wounded for the simple reason that he enjoys the sensations of living. He knows nothing—and does not care—about the causes and motives of the war. He only knows that he is scared stiff all the time he is in the air and he is not reluctant to show it. Anybody who wants to fight, he thinks, is crazy. He discovers, in fact, that the Army thinks so as well. But:

There was only one catch and that was Catch-22, which specified that a concern for one's own safety in the face of dangers that were real and immediate was the process of a rational mind. Orr was crazy and could be grounded. All he had to do was ask; and as soon as he did, he would no longer be crazy and would have to fly more missions. Orr would be crazy to fly more missions and sane if he didn't, but if he was sane he had to fly them. If he flew them he was crazy and didn't have to;

but if he didn't want to he was sane and had to. Yossarian was moved very deeply by the absolute simplicity of this clause of Catch-22 and let out a respectful whistle.

"That's some catch, that Catch-22," he observed.

"It's the best there is," Doc Daneeka agreed.

In a world gone mad with drums and bugles and medals and guns, Yossarian openly and persistently pleads for human survival. As persistently he is asked, "What if everyone thought like you?" and has his answer ready: "Then I'd be a damn fool to think any other way, wouldn't I?" He has seen through war and through religion and is aghast at the struggle human beings go through to exist. A psychiatrist screams at him:

You're antagonistic to the idea of being robbed, exploited, degraded, humiliated or deceived. Misery depresses you. Ignorance depresses you. Persecution depresses you. Violence depresses you. Slums depress you. Greed depresses you. Crime depresses you. Corruption depresses you. You know, it wouldn't surprise me if you're a manic-depressive!

Let's keep the book in perspective. Joseph Heller is another of the people who, without being Socialists, can compose impressive indictments of capitalism. He is a writer of enormous impact, who constructs and times his sentences to perfection. He can make us laugh and he can grip us horrified with sensitive, compulsive prose. His description of Yossarian brooding through Rome, watching human behaviour decay all around him, will haunt us for a long time. All in all he makes the post-war wave of British novelists, with their startling discovery that a lot of people under capitalism have to work for their living and that in their spare time they sometimes get drunk and have illicit sexual relations, look pretty sick.

Because Heller goes for the lies and hypocrisy which are used in such abundance to sustain capitalism's wars:

Men went mad and were rewarded with medals. All over the world, boys on every side of the bomb line were laying down

their lives for what they had been told was their country, and no one seemed to mind, least of all the boys who were laying down their young lives. There was no end in sight.

At the moment, *Catch 22* is sweeping the United States, where cars carry window-stickers which say "Better Yossarian Than Rotarian." Nobody need think, because of that, that if capitalism throws up another world war the people who have laughed at, been moved by, and agreed with Heller's book will not turn the required mental somersault and join up with a will. We know now that working class ignorance runs that deep.

For all that, *Catch-22* deserves to be read and to find its place among the books which stand out against the lie that war is romantic and glorious and necessary but which say unmistakably that the people have nothing to gain from war and that war is sordid and obscene and futile.

IVAN.

## MEETINGS continued

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-Op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, Catford, SE6  
Mondays, 8 pm

November 5th  
LABOURISM

November 12th  
COMMUNISM

November 19th  
CONSERVATISM & LIBERALISM

### LEWISHAM MEETING

Friday 16th November 8 pm  
Lewisham Town Hall  
ANY QUESTIONS?

### DEBATE

#### LIBERAL PARTY versus SPGB

Thursday, November 15th, 8 pm  
The Labour Hall, Boston Avenue, Southend

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm

#### East Street

November 4th & 18th (11am)  
11th (noon)  
25th (1 pm)

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm

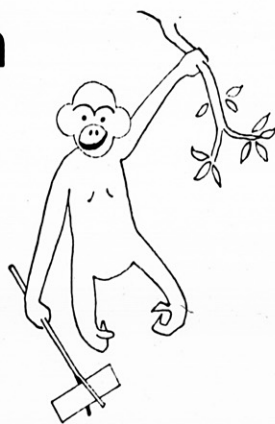
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm



## Branch News



The Central Literature Sales Committee report that they attended the **Labour Party Conference** at Brighton to sell literature and hold meetings. Members living in Brighton assisted on occasions. Labour Party delegates were inundated with all sort of giveaway literature; this made our task more difficult. However, **SOCIALIST STANDARDS** and Pamphlets were sold to the value of £3 14s 6d. and our Labour Government pamphlets were freely distributed at a CND demonstration, several evening meetings organised by our members, and at a large meeting run by *Tribune*. At the latter our literature was prominently in evidence. Our members found this type of activity stimulating and a way to contact comrades who are not directly in touch with a branch. It was decided at a special meeting to re-constitute the Brighton Group with a view to form a Branch in the near future.

Propaganda arrangements for the winter season are well under way—full details are given in this issue of November activities. Support from members and sympathisers is essential for the success of these meetings.

**Glasgow Branch** in particular have a very full programme, with meetings in Hamilton and Edinburgh as well as Glasgow. These meetings will greatly assist in the election activities which will shortly be in full swing.

A report from Comrade Gloss, Companion Party Secretary of the World Socialist Party of the U.S.A. states that the keynote of their Conference (held in September), was the unity of the world *Socialist* Movement. One of the first decisions gave the eight delegates of the Socialist Party of Canada "full voice and vote in all Conference matters". From many parts of the world came inspiring messages, written and recorded. Voices from New Zealand, Scotland, South Africa and England, and a greatly appreciated message from Comrade Frank in Austria, accompanied by his pamphlet—the first in Austria—outlining our Principles. They were gratified that the six leaflets written by Comrade Milne of the Socialist Party of Canada had been published in pamphlet form by the SPGB.

The highlight of the Conference was the appointment of Don Poirier of the SPC to tour the U.S. and Canada to help the spread

of Socialist ideas and organisation. About \$1,500 in pledges were made (\$285 in cash collected) at the Conference for this venture. At a social, after the formal sessions, \$200 was donated to finance a tour of the Vancouver-Victoria area by George Jenkins (SPC).

The Conference helped to get the outdoor meetings of the WSP going again on Boston Common (the building of an underground garage had made these meetings impossible for more than two years, they had been replaced by formal discussions on another part of the Common). Excellent meetings were held on the Sundays, prior, during and after the Conference.

The enthusiasm and comradeship at the Conference made the occasion one of the most fruitful in the history of the Party.

P. H.

## Meetings

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Room 2, St. Andrews' Halls (Door G)  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

November 4th

#### CRIME, ITS CAUSE & CURE

Speaker: I. McDougall

November 11th

#### WHAT IS POVERTY

Speaker: J. Fleming

November 18th

#### THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaker: D. Donaldson

November 25th

#### MUST THERE BE WAR?

Speaker: T. Jones

### HAMILTON MEETINGS

Liberal Halls, Brandon Street  
Sundays, 8 pm

November 4th

#### WHAT IS POVERTY?

Speaker: J. Fleming

November 11th

#### THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaker: D. Donaldson

November 18th

#### MUST THERE BE WAR?

Speaker: T. Jones

November 25th

#### CRIME, ITS CAUSE & CURE

Speaker: I. McDougall

### ISLINGTON LECTURE

Co-Op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Rd., N7  
Thursdays, 8.30 pm

October 18th

#### EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

Speakers: R. Ambridge

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Sundays, 7.30 pm

November 4th

#### THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaker: D. Donaldson

November 11th

#### MUST THERE BE WAR?

Speaker: T. Jones

November 18th

#### CRIME, ITS CAUSE & CURE

Speaker: I. McDougall

November 25th

#### WHAT IS POVERTY?

Speaker: J. Fleming

### BETHNAL GREEN LECTURE

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath Rd., E2

Wednesday, November 14th, 8 pm

#### INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

Speaker: E. Grant

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

Royal Oak, York Street, Marylebone Rd., W1

Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

November 7th

#### FILM: THE GERMAN STORY

November 14th

#### THE PARIS COMMUNE

November 21st

#### COMMON MARKET: IN OR OUT?

Speaker: C. May

November 28th

#### THE SPANISH ARMADA

Speaker: L. Dale

December 5th

#### SOCIALISM: ITS POSSIBILITIES

Speaker: T. Fahy

### WEMBLEY FILM

Barham Court, Barham Park

Monday, November 5th, 8 pm

#### WORLD WITHOUT END

### FILM LECTURES

Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4

Sundays, 7.30 pm

November 4th

#### AGE OF DISSENT

November 11th

#### MAN OF THE ASSEMBLY LINE

### DEBATE WITH CND

Monday, November 19th, 8 pm

St. Alban's Hall, Manor Place,

Walworth Road, SE17

#### WHICH WAY PEACE—CND OR SOCIALISM?

For SPGB: H. Baldwin

For CND: J. Mathieson

*Meetings continued on page 175*



# ***SOCIALIST STANDARD***

---

When each war is over, all that can be said is that countless workers have died to preserve the conditions for another holocaust later on. The next war really begins where the last one ends.

## **THE WORLD ON THE BRINK**

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT  
AT DEAD END

A GOAL FOR THE FUTURE

SHARING PROSPERITY



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## Branches

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** 1st and 3rd Thursdays (6th & 20th Dec.) 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: SPGB 26 Trelawn Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, 7th Dec at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: 8EX 1950) and 21st Dec. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING** Fridays 8 pm, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, near Ealing Broadway. Correspondence: M. Evers, 64 Pennard Road, W.12.

**ECCELES** 2nd Monday (10th Dec.) in month 7.30 pm, 1 Lowry House, Church Street, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

**HACKNEY** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N.5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

## Groups

**BRIGHTON** Meetings Fridays, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact: I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**COVENTRY** 1st and 3rd Mondays (3rd and 17th Dec.) 7.30 pm, 60 Alma Street, Off Lower Ford St. Enquiries: Secretary, at above address.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns, SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Enquiries: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield (Phone Hatfield 4802). Regular monthly discussions at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Wednesdays 5th & 19th December, 8.15 pm, Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, 2 Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** Second Wednesdays (12th Dec.) 7.30 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street, Correspondence: R. Powe, 13 Westerham Close, Bilborough Estate.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W.1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76, Ladbroke Grove, W.11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** 2nd and 4th Monday in month (10th and 24th Dec.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: H. G. Cottis, 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd and 17th Dec.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 18 Gloucester Road, Ealing, W.5

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th and 25th Dec.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane Romford, Essex.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, near "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th Dec.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, 4 St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, 26 Oakfield Road, Lightwood, Cwmbran near Newport, Mon.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

December 1962

Vol 58 No 700

# SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN



THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings etc. for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

## NEWS IN REVIEW

By-elections	180
More unemployed	
China and India	
Just another job	
ON THE BRINK	181
CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT	
AT DEAD END	183
KEYNES AND THE WORLD	
DEPRESSION	184
THIS MONEY BUSINESS	184
WHAT IS SURPLUS VALUE	185
A NEW MAGAZINE	186
CONSCRIPTION	186
DANUBE DOCTORS DILEMMA	187
A GOAL FOR THE FUTURE	188
SHARING PROSPERITY	189
CHARLEY CLARKE	190
BRANCH NEWS & MEETINGS	191
PASSING SHOW	192

## The Conflict that is Capitalism

So the crisis is over—for the time being! The Soviets have climbed down over Cuba and have withdrawn their missiles from that unhappy island. Everyone is sighing with relief and no doubt President Kennedy is congratulating himself on the success of his tough line. The press generally acclaimed him as the saviour of the peace, although it has been suggested in one journal at least, that there was no real Russian intention to fight over Cuba because the U.S.S.R. was just not ready for a shooting war yet. Russia, it seems, has run away to fight again another day.

Just what day, when and where, none can say—least of all the various opposing governments themselves. It is one of the terrifying aspects of the whole ghastly business that at the most we can only guess where the next trouble spot will be, and whether that will then trigger an explosion which will blow the world sky-high. Look back over the years since 1945. Berlin, Korea, Suez, Hungary, Lebanon, Formosa—the monster of war can rear its ugly head any place at any time and this is not to mention the smaller in-between conflicts such as Indo-China and Algeria.

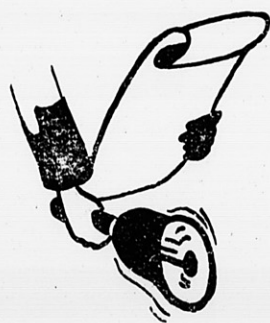
Cuba has simmered down for a while and maybe will move out of the headlines altogether, as the major capitalist powers find their attention diverted elsewhere. Who amongst us anyway would have risked a wager even six months ago that Castro's Land would be the focal point in a crisis which edged the capitalist world perilously close to another horror?

And now there is India's fight with China. This again is in a part of the world which has only recently become big news, as Capitalist China pushes her borders outwards in pursuit of her expansionist aims. She has been squabbling for some time over certain slices of Indian border territory and negotiations have dragged wearily on, but force is the final arbiter in the clash of opposing interests, as we have pointed out on many occasions.

The Indian affair highlights perhaps the most tragic irony of all, that of poverty stricken workers literally *running* to join the Indian Army in defence of their masters' interests and in ignorance of their own. No need for conscription, said Mr. Nehru; his government could take its pick from millions of volunteers. But ignorance is not something peculiar to Indian or Chinese workers, or people in "backward" countries alone. It is a failing common to workers the world over, even though many of them may not join the army quite so enthusiastically as their Indian brothers.

Yet sooner or later ignorance will have to yield to the growth of Socialist knowledge and the realisation that war is not just a nasty accident but has its roots in the private property basis of modern society. It is an ever present menace so long as capitalism survives. The sordid squabbles over markets, trade routes and other considerations, give way eventually to armed conflict, but no working class interest is involved, and no social problem is solved by fighting. When each war is over, all that can be said is that countless workers have died to preserve the conditions for another holocaust later on. Someone once said that the next war really begins where the last one ends. We could not agree more.





## By-elections

As we go to press it is too early to comment in detail upon the results of the November spate of by-elections.

At the moment only a few facts are clear. Lord Sandwich is causing a stir in Dorset South by beating his own track through the Tory undergrowth there—something which is becoming a habit with this rich aristocrat. This has pained Tory candidate Angus Maude, who was once on the Sandwich (when he was Hinchinbrooke) coat-tails over Suez and perhaps looked for better reward than this.

We know that a number of servicemen are testifying to the delights of being part of capitalism's military machine by working a legal fiddle to get out of the forces by having themselves nominated as candidates in the by-elections.

But most of all we know that for Socialists all over the world one of these contests is especially notable. For the first time—in Woodside, in Glasgow—a Socialist candidate has been nominated to fight in a Scottish Parliamentary constituency.

This news will hit no headlines in the capitalist press. We do not expect our candidate to receive many votes. But, as usual, we shall strive to make sure that whatever votes are cast for him come from people who want to get rid of capitalism and replace it with a world of peace and plenty which will be worth living in.

In contrast the Labour Party Deputy Leader, George Brown, has promised that his party will make their campaign "as exciting and lighthearted as possible... in an attempt to stimulate the interest of young people." He added (as he had to) that this would be "short of gimmicks."

This is typical of the hard-headed vote-catching of the parties of capitalism. Yet it will be uphill work to persuade anyone to be lighthearted over Cuba, say, or the current figures of London homeless and Scottish unemployed. And hasn't capitalism got enough excitement already? Nothing gets us more het up than a narrow escape from nuclear war.

Mr. Brown will have his gaiety and his

# THE NEWS IN REVIEW

excitement and he will get his votes as well. The Socialist in Woodside will get none of these, but for all that his is the only significant and worthwhile campaign among them all.

## More unemployed

Obstinately, the unemployed figures creep upwards. The October total of over half a million was the highest since April, 1959, and represented 2.2 per cent. of the total working population. Scotland is the hardest hit and after that the North West is the worst sufferer.

At the same time the number of available and vacant jobs has decreased, and at a faster rate than is usual at this time of the year.

The immediate reasons for this situation are simple enough. Firms all over the country are finding it harder than ever to sell their goods, at home and abroad. Profit margins are under strong pressure because at the same time as selling is getting more difficult many costs of production are going up. Competition in some markets is keen to the point of cut-throat.

Many industries are in considerable uncertainty. Others, like the mines and the railways, have an air of doom as the efficiency experts and the accountants move in and redundancy spreads.

Yet uncertainty was one of the things which capitalism's experts are supposed to have banished for ever. Are not they all dedicated Keynesians, who can revital-

ise an economy by the simple process of manufacturing bootstraps for it to lift itself up by?

Have they not assured us, many times in recent years, that they had at last solved the problem of boom and slump and unemployment? Was it not all something to do with planning the economy?

Countries abroad, like Canada and Italy, have already shown up the fallacy of the experts' claims for themselves. Now our own lengthening dole queues mock the helpless experts and the promises which they have made.

None of this, of course, will prevent them making similar promises in the future. Neither will it prevent the working class falling for the facile assurance from the expert. But some, at any rate, of the workers will get the point.

However, much capitalism is meddled with, and whatever promises are made for it, it cannot help but remain the same uncontrollable mess it has always been.

## China and India

As India has emerged into the family of capitalist nations it has often suited her government to pose as an honest broker in the disputes between both sides in the Cold War.

This has gone home with a lot of workers, who now imagine India as a perpetual peacemaker, always willing to send her men into the Congo or Suez to sort out the mess left by the more ambitious disputants of international capitalism.

Even more confusingly, the government in Delhi is expected to behave like the pacifist which Gandhi is mistakenly thought to have been.

In fact, Gandhi was simply an exponent of the technique of passive resistance to the presence of British rule in India. Had he lived to lead a government, he would soon have had to discard the surface idealism so necessary to any aspiring leader's days of struggle.

So there was nothing inconsistent in the Indian adventures in Kashmir and the annexation of Portuguese Goa. The Indian ruling class has shown that, when

its interests demand it, it can be as belligerent and as ruthless as any of the old colonial powers.

Now that India herself is under attack, her government has run true to form. Passive resistance? Not likely. Mr. Nehru has called for the "Dunkirk spirit" and those of us who can remember what that meant for the British working class can shiver for our Indian brothers.

The Chinese in India have suffered in the way of all such people in an enemy country in wartime. If they own shops, these have been attacked by mobs. By government decree, they have been stripped of their Indian citizenship—a move obviously designed to play up to popular nationalist sentiment.

This is particularly dirty work. The harshness of British rule, boosted as it was by racial theories which went against the Indian, should have taught the Indian worker that such theories are pernicious and inhuman. But he has shown himself as ignorant, as ready to be deceived by his leaders and as proudly nationalist as any Empire builder of the old days.

## Just another job

Boy, are you looking for a job?

Listen, stop worrying. I've found one. It's great. Nothing to do with good works or anything like that. It's so easy. Listen, there's this female and she's at Oxford, at the University, I mean, and she's a research worker.

Sounds good, you say.

Now she's been finding out something about how people live. Nothing to do with how well we could live. It's all about how little we could live on.

And has she come up with the goods. Listen.

She says that a family with a mother and a father and three kids can live spending less than four pounds a week on food.

If they want to, that is. But, of course, they don't, and this research worker, she sounds a bit cross about it.

She says—in high tone, of course, because after all she is at Oxford—that when a family's wage goes down they sometimes cut out essential foods instead of buckling to and making the most of the cheaper stuff.

She thinks that we should teach kids in school to cook so that when the wage drops they'll know just how to get food that a research worker approves of.

Now I wonder whether she worked all that out with those statistics things or whether she's lived on low wages herself and eaten poor food with them.

Because it says nothing for the modern world that it has to present ordinary, useful human beings with problems of living which make subjects for nice lady research workers at Oxford to look into, does it?

And it isn't so surprising that, when subsistence is a problem, these useful humans don't act like the humming, fool-

## WORLD CRISIS

# ON THE BRINK

THE WORLD has probably never held its breath so painfully hard as it did during the Cuba crisis. In some ways life went on as usual. Buses and trains ran, people went to work, played games, looked at television. A West End tobacco store announced that it had already imported its Havana cigars and that supplies would be undisturbed for Christmas. But it all happened under a cloud of unreality. Everyone knew that we stood on the edge of an overwhelming nightmare, perhaps the ultimate in capitalism's upheavals. One newspaper published a cartoon in which a typist confided to her companion that she would scream if her boss, grinning, greeted them again in the morning with the observation that we were still here. Very funny. But a lot of people didn't expect to be still here a few days after Kennedy's broadcast and the point is that if the crisis had developed much further they might have been proved right.

At the time, it seemed rather pointless to speculate upon the background of the affair. Now that the heat is somewhat off, we can take time to look around us.

Was it all a put-up job? Some of the missiles were carried quite openly on the decks of Soviet ships and their launching pads were put down in clearings with no attempt at camouflage. This seems to contradict Kennedy's assertion that the missiles were sent clandestinely to Cuba. Because of this, and for other reasons, there was some speculation that the Russians were openly moving their rockets to Cuba so that they could use them to bargain with an alarmed American government.

Because (and who isn't relieved at this?) the two great powers of contemporary capitalism are still at the bargaining stage. The Russians might have wanted to use their Cuban bases to get the Americans out of Turkey and Iran. Or at least they

proof computers that the lady might use in her researches for all I know, but like—well, like human beings.

Now you don't need to be a university research worker to think that one out. I'm sure I could do that girl's job for a lot less than she's getting.

Think I'll apply. Wonder how little she could live on?

might have been able to use them to force Washington to talk about the American bases and to discuss whether they should have them so near to Russia. This would have been a unique situation. Whoever heard of one capitalist power negotiating with its enemy over bases which are designed to attack them?

Another possibility which was bandied about was that the Russians were trying to persuade the Americans to accept the existence of an unfriendly Cuba. This would give the Soviet Union more than a toehold in the Caribbean. Kennedy has, of course, agreed that if the missiles and the nuclear bombers leave Cuba he will guarantee not to invade the island. This presumably means that he will leave it in the "imprisoned" condition which he ascribed to it in his broadcast. Or is that too risky a presumption? Capitalist politicians have broken promises before and there is no reason to think that they will not break them in the future.

Or was Cuba a blind? Was Khrushchev trying to create a disturbance at one end of the world while the real dirty work was done at the other? Many eyes were turned to Berlin during the Cuban crisis and there was some fear that the Russians would at least make a definite hostile move there. If that had happened the propaganda machine of Western capitalism was ready. Kennedy mentioned in his broadcast that the Russians were not to interfere with the "brave people" of West Berlin. How short a time ago was it that we were being encouraged to hope that the Russians would do just that, and with a vengeance? Or does the world forget so easily the lies of yesterday, only remembering those of today?

All these speculations—and some of the others which were in the air at the time—must have a chance of being near the truth. It has been a feature of Russian

For a socialist analysis  
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND WAR**

1/3 post paid, from SPGB  
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4



tactics in the Cold War that they suddenly create a tremendous racket which convinces half the world that war has all but started. Each year, for example, Moscow seems determined to sign a treaty with East Germany and so provoke a really serious crisis over Berlin. Then just as suddenly they take the heat off and get everyone sighing with relief. But when the dust has cleared it can be perceived that the Russians have advanced their cause somewhat. Last year the Berlin Wall seemed a temporary irritant. Now it is permanent, well guarded. This could have been the tactic which Moscow were playing in Cuba.

### Rocket bases

There might of course be a simpler explanation, one which does not rest on the assumption that capitalism's international dealings depend upon the suave, tricky diplomat who does his job as if he were a top-notch poker player. Perhaps the Cuban bases were a purely offensive move by the Russians, intended as a pistol pointing at America's heart. This would have put the Russians on something like an equal footing with the United States, whose overseas rocket bases are about as far from Moscow as Cuba is from Washington. The rockets in Cuba outflanked the elaborate and expensive early warning system which the Americans have built up. They reduced the time which a missile attack would give the American people to wind up their affairs, patch up their quarrels and kiss each other goodbye to the more hurried three or four minutes which we would have in England.

In at least two ways this was an ironical situation. Capitalist nations, whose experts assure us that they know what they are doing, have always spent a lot of effort in building a static defence system for use in wartime. In the days of more leisurely, more personal wars they built systems like the Hindenburg and Maginot Lines and the heavy fortifications at Singapore. Very often, these defences have been useless because the enemy has simply come in the other way—which is what the Russian missiles would have been able to do from Cuba. Which shows, once again, how fallible are the people whose reputation rests upon their being infallible.

There is irony, too, in the American refusal to accept parity with the Russians in missile and nuclear resources. Both sides in the Cold War argue that such things are necessary as a deterrent. But the most effective deterrent is surely one which is equally available to both sides, so that they can frighten each other equally. We need not point out—but we will

—that neither America nor Russia ever takes the deterrent theory to these lengths. They are both too busy fighting out the race for bigger and more terrifying weapons. The fact is that the deterrent theory, just like the rest of capitalism's war propaganda, is a lie. Capitalist powers like the USA and the Soviet Union do not develop weapons to keep the peace. They make them so that they can wage war more effectively—more destructively—than their rivals.

If Khrushchev was in fact trying to outflank the American defensive system, he has obviously failed. For him, personally, this could be a serious matter. There is ample evidence that the Russian government are deeply divided over the method of sparring out the Cold War and that Khrushchev has had some narrow squeaks in these internal disputes. A diplomatic defeat in Cuba might mean the end of him—literally the end, because nobody can be sure that in Russia political defeat does not still mean execution.

These speculations are interesting, but that is as far as they can go. Only a very few people in the world know what was behind the Cuban affair. The international disputes which capitalism is always putting us on edge with do not lend themselves to open and honest dealing. Secrets must be kept and each side must try to hide its intentions from the other. Only now are we learning something of the truth about events which died fifty years ago. Only now are we beginning to learn some of the detail of what was behind the First World War. The 1939 war is still shrouded in official secrecy, although sometimes drops of horrible truth trickle out. Not for a long time will the facts on Cuba come out into the open. Not for a long time will the world know fully of the lies and double dealing, the threats and the power and the fearful, insane risks that were taken.

### Secrets

Because in these disputes ordinary people do not seem to count. They are only the people who run capitalism, who keep the system working and who design, make, transport and finally fire off the missiles which all the fuss was about. They are only the people who are essential to the war effort which rounds off the fuss. For who was it who Kennedy and Khrushchev called upon at the height of the crisis? Who did they mobilise into their armed forces? Who did they try to persuade, with their propaganda? The ordinary people. The working class.

The working class do not share in the secrets which pass between their leaders. Kennedy refused to publish the vital part of the correspondence between himself

and Khrushchev—the part which possibly explains the whole thing—for the reason that it was a letter which was addressed to him personally. But that is too transparently fatuous to need further comment. The working class are not asked for their opinion in these matters. Khrushchev did not ask the Russian working class whether he should risk all their lives by sending missiles to Cuba and Kennedy did not consult the American workers about starting a war over those missiles. Neither, for that matter, did Macmillan ask English workers whether they agreed that they were behind America—to the death, if need be.

### Conditioning

The working class are not asked—and do not expect to be asked—about these matters. They only expect to work, to fight and if necessary to die for capitalism. And, of course, to vote for it as well. Apart from that, they do not seem to count.

Or do they? What if Kennedy's call to mobilise had been met with a blank refusal? What if American workers had refused to man the ships in the blockade? If Russian workers had said no to shipping the missiles? The leaders of capitalism would have been powerless. They could have exchanged insults or compliments for as long as they liked. In the end it would have been the workers, and not the leaders, who counted.

Capitalism's wars are fought because of the economic clashes of its opposing powers. But these wars can only be organised, supplied and fought by the very people who have nothing to gain—and everything to lose—by fighting them. That is why there is such a careful propaganda campaign, all the time, to condition the working class to accept the latest line-up in international capitalism. That is why the workers in this country are now taught to hate the Russians and to love the Germans, when a few years ago we were taught the exact opposite. Yes, workers do count.

Because they could stop capitalism's wars. They could do more than that. They could stop capitalism itself. Not, this time, by refusing to take part in it; but by understanding it. By taking the trouble, to start with, to remember and to put Cuba—and Korea, Formosa, Berlin and the rest—into perspective.

Capitalism marches to chaos upon the ignorance of the people who keep it in its miserable existence. Cuba was only one step along this unhappy road. But who dare say where it will end, if the march and the ignorance continue?

IVAN.



## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

# Co-operative Movement at a dead end

A FEW MONTHS ago *Reynolds News*, the Co-operative Sunday newspaper, came out in its new form as the *Sunday Citizen*. Whatever other reasons for the change there may have been, doubtless the fall in circulation of the old paper from 720,000 in 1947 to 310,000 in 1961 has something to do with the effort to appeal to a new circle of readers. We do not know whether the change has won new readers, but we can tell what readership one of their regular contributors has in mind. He is *Scorpio*, "Sunday Citizen Economic Expert," who has a column headed *Your Money*. In the issue for October 21st he urged his readers "Buy Oil Shares":

My advice has always been that you can't get high income yield, security against loss, quick access to your money, and hope of capital growth all at once.

Today I suggest a chance to come much nearer having it all four ways than you will often get. Buy some British Petroleum or Burmah Oil shares or, better, some of both.

*Scorpio*, or his editor, obviously thinks that no newspaper can be complete and up-to-date without a city column in which readers are helped with their investment problems. The *Sunday Citizen* has to keep up with the Jones's of Fleet Street—what they do it must do, too.

And if *Scorpio* were to ask what is wrong with a Co-operative newspaper trying to have as wide an appeal as any other Sunday paper, the answer is that there is everything wrong with this particular venture, that of advising workers to risk what little savings they have (or some of them have) in buying shares.

In the first place it is a very dangerous game for workers to play. The inducement is the belief that they can make money. So they may at backing horses, and just as easily lose it. *Scorpio's* particular advice may turn out to be based on a correct guess about the future of the oil industry and of these two companies but, like all the other City recommendations it can be little more than a guess.

Very much to the point, how does it come about that a newspaper which be-

longs to the Co-operative Movement is not telling its readers to put their spare money into the Co-operative movement which so badly needs it?

There was a time when enthusiastic co-operators would have been shocked to find in their own Press someone who had so little belief in co-operation. Probably few readers are shocked today because, as a movement aiming at social change, co-operation has long been dead. More worrying still to many of its officials it hasn't even been holding its own as a capitalist trading group in competition with commercial rivals.

From the standpoint of the original solid aims of the movement probably few of its more than 12 million members even know what the original aims were. Some of them may have heard of Robert Owen and of the Rochdale Pioneers who formed a co-operative society in 1844, but few will know that for Owen and for the Rochdale Group the trading society was looked on not as an end in itself but as a means to revolutionise society:

... Owen was not interested in "store keeping". He wanted to set up self-supporting and self-governing villages of co-operation, organised committees providing work and happiness for their members. At first he advocated these as a means of over-coming unemployment, but later he broadened his plan to embrace all mankind.

(*The Co-operative Movement*. Published by the Labour Party.)

Such aims have been long forgotten as the co-operative movement enrolled its members by the million and gave them the satisfaction of their dividend on purchases. In the co-operative movement's prosperous years it was possible to recruit new members by publicising the "divi." But the co-operatives have not kept up with the leaders in the race for trade. In 1960 their sales reached the record level of £1,066 million, but their proportion of total retail sales actually fell slightly and their average dividend payment was 11½d. in the pound, compared with 1s. in the pound in 1953 and 1s. 9½d. in 1939.

In 1958, after two years' investigation,

a committee presided over by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell and with Mr. C. A. R. Crosland as secretary issued a long report on the methods and problems of the co-operative movement. They found that the expansion of membership and trade was slowing down.

In the period 1890 to 1920 the co-operative share in total national expenditure on goods and services more than doubled, but in the next thirty-six years it increased by only one-sixth.

Comparing the 1950's with the beginning of this century, the small private retailers lost ground heavily but the principal gainers were the multiple shops and to a smaller extent the department stores. The Committee found the relative lack of progress of the co-operatives since the war "the most disturbing feature."

The Committee, some of whose recommendations came in for much criticism, urged big changes, including the amalgamation of retail societies to reduce the number from about 950 to 200 or 300, more efficient management, better service and better staff recruitment, and the improvement of labour relations.

But although some amalgamations are taking place and costly schemes of modernisation are being introduced, the troubles have continued for many of the retail societies:

In 1960 retail sales as a whole rose by four per cent., department store sales by as much as seven per cent. Co-operative sales by only one per cent. Even the small shopkeeper did better. And now the cut-price super market is menacing the Co-ops' traditional strongholds. Well may Co-operative officials shiver in their "Sunday Footwear".

If there is any mystery about the Co-ops' decline, a visit to the local branch may clear up part of it—though not for people who live in Leicester, Nottingham and certain other places where the Co-ops are notoriously efficient. "Dowdy, parochial and technically backward" were Mr. Crosland's words for the Co-op, and the shelves sometimes tend to confirm them. (*Daily Telegraph*, 11.5.61.)

Trying to compete with private traders,



some co-operatives are going in for cut prices but while this increases sales it means, as for the big Liverpool society, that there is no surplus available for the traditional dividend on purchases, for the first time in the Society's 47 years' history.

Where they have been more successful is in the insurance field. The Co-operative Insurance Society, has just opened its new skyscraper headquarters in Manchester. The *Co-operative News* (27/10/62) found this noteworthy because it was opened by Prince Philip—"... the first occasion on which a member of the Royal Family has declared open a co-operative building."

As employers the co-operatives have their problems too. Strikes are not unknown (including in the C.I.S.).

Before the war the pay and conditions of co-operative employees compared rather favourably with the majority of their private competitors. It is doubtful if they do so today. A few months ago the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied workers made an inquiry into staffing conditions in a number of Co-operative societies. They found that two-thirds of them were understaffed and two in every five of the Union's branches gave as the reason "that recruits could not be found because of the low wages paid by the Society when compared with pay in outside jobs."

The Socialist attitude towards the co-operative movement is that it solves no working class problem. Even if modernisation enables the co-operatives to recover lost ground in their fight against their retail rivals, they cannot achieve the social revolution which is the aim of the Socialist Movement. The dreams of Robert Owen and some of the Co-operative pioneers can be achieved only through Socialism.

H.

## Keynes and the World Depression

THERE IS widespread talk in the industrialised countries that the future is uncertain if not positively threatening. Profits have been falling in the past two years not only in Britain, but fairly generally. Many big industries have over-expanded so that there is surplus oil, surplus shipping, surplus coal and surplus

manufacturing capacity. City editors watch the portents and anxiously wait for signs of profit margins rising again. The employers were hoping that increasing unemployment would help them out by keeping wages down, but more unemployment is double-edged, for at the same time it causes shop sales to stagnate or decline.

Business men and governments in each country think to find a way out by increasing exports but, of course, all the other countries are trying to do the same.

In Britain the Government finds a new cause for concern. Even when total production and sales increase as they have in recent months this has been achieved without employing more workers. The *Guardian* (2/11/62) offers the explanation that industry has been in the habit of holding on to workers, though they were not all required, because it expected trade to improve fairly soon and the workers would be needed again, but industry has "now abandoned hope of an early change in the trend of trade and is parting with 'hoarded' labour."

At the same time world prices of food and raw materials have been falling and this means that the countries dependent on selling these products are less able and willing to buy the exports of the industrialised countries.

It has been common in post-war years for the followers of the late Lord Keynes to take comfort in the belief that various Keynesian devices, including low interest rates to encourage investment, could always deal with capitalism's economic problems. Now many of them are not so confident. Capitalists do not in practice expand their factories and plant merely because interest rates are low, they need also to be assured that they will be able to sell the products at a profit. As the *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National Bank of New York put it recently (September, 1962)—"we found during the Great Depression, that 'you can't push a string'—no matter how abundant credit may be, business men will be reluctant to borrow unless they can see productive use for the money with a reward of profit in sight."

Some economists, observing that in the post-war years Government action on interest rates, purchase tax and so on has not eliminated the ups and downs of trade and production, have taken the line that governments cannot control the small movements but can still control the big ones: it seems that they may now have another opportunity of testing it out. But Keynes is not so widely accepted as he was. Some of those who used to think that he supplied the answer to all the ills of stagnant trade and heavy unemployment are now to be found argu-

ing that the only solution for Britain is to get into the Common Market. The one is as irrelevant as the other to the real contradictions of capitalism.

H.

## This money business

Some of the many people who don't think that Socialism is a good idea declare that our objective—a world commonwealth in which money and a lot of other things would not be required—is impractical because some sort of money is a necessary part of all human societies, even the primitive ones. Without it, they say, no society could hope to work.

They are wrong.

Even today there are races and tribes who conduct their affairs quite satisfactorily without money. In any case, to try to draw a parallel in this argument with past societies is impossible, because capitalism has given money a distinct function.

Primitive peoples used a variety of objects, some of practical use, some ornamental, which through a loose definition of terms have sometimes been described as money. In Fiji, for example, they used sperm whale teeth; in Eastern New Guinea shell armlets and large stone axe blades. The Abyssinians used rock salt. The natives of the Melanesian Islands consider that strings of shell discs are their most important item of wealth and a lot of labour power is used up in producing them. The purchasing power of these discs varies with their length and colour. Red ones are worth the most because of the scarcity of the shells from which they are made. These strings are sometimes used in settlement of social obligations. But none of these objects perform the true function of money.

In any society an article is money only when it acts as a medium of exchange and as a measure of value and when it contains within itself the social embodiment of human labour power. It must also be able to measure and to equate all and any commodity against any other. This, of course, eliminates the shell discs which, although they are a form of wealth to the Fijian native who will use them to pay for a canoe or trade them against each other, do not express the market value of all other goods. Such an

object—modern, developed, refined, all powerful money—is a typical product of capitalism.

As capitalism moves in on the primitive tribes, building its factories and establishing its other features, a fully fledged monetary system will come into being there. The native will find that he is living under the same conditions as wage workers elsewhere. In order to live he will be compelled to sell his working

ability to an employer for a wage which will be based upon what it costs to keep him in a state of working efficiency.

It will make no difference to him whether or not he is skilled, whether he is paid a weekly wage or a monthly salary, whether his employer is the state or some private company. He will be a member of a class which has no economic security and which is cruelly subject to all the anomalies and contradictions of capi-

talism.

The change from private to common ownership—from Capitalism to Socialism—will mean that as trade and markets cease to exist so also will the need for a multitude of currencies, indeed, for any currency at all. Money could not be of any use in such a commonwealth, unless perhaps as museum relics of a past inglorious chapter in man's history.

DICK JACOBS.

## WHAT IS SURPLUS VALUE

IF A PERSON who owned a million pounds decided to spend it he could live, without working, for forty years at the level of £25,000 p.a. before being broke. If the million pounds was invested at an average of five per cent. interest p.a. over 40 years, it would enable him to live at the level of £50,000 a year for the same time, and he would still have his million. Who said that you can't eat your cake and still have it?

Surplus value is the sole source of all rent profit and interest, and the exploitation of the Working Class is the source of all surplus value. Capital is wealth used in the reproduction of wealth in order to extract profit. This is investment of money as distinct from spending it.

In early commodity production the producers were owners of their means of production, raw materials, etc. They owned the articles they made and they sold them. The right of a person to own what his labour created was a recognised principle. Modern capitalism excludes the working class from ownership of the means of production. The worker is compelled to sell his ability to work in order to live. He sells his labour power as distinct from his labour. The value of the commodity labour power is determined by the amount of food, clothing, shelter, etc., required to reproduce the mental and physical energy expended and to reproduce other wage slaves. For example, the value of engineering labour power is approximately 5s. per hour. In working an hour the engineer may produce value exceeding 15s. These social and historical aspects are of great importance.

Money can be transformed into capital, of which there are two aspects. Constant capital consists of machinery, raw

materials, and so on; variable capital, in money form, purchases labour power. Labour is the positive or creative factor. In modern society, labour is the source of all wealth. Irrespective of how gigantic, complex and costly the productive machinery may be, it is all a product of labour.

In the productive process, let us assume a capital of £10,000 invested, of which £7,500 is constant and £2,500 variable. We also, for convenience, assume that the total capital is consumed in the process of production, although this in fact rarely happens. If 10,000 articles valued at 25s. each are created, the total product is £12,500, an increase of £2,500 on the original capital. Where does this increase come from? Neither constant nor variable capital can grow or expand. The original value invested can only re-appear, in new form, in the new wealth created. If we take one article, value 25s., depreciation of machinery and the raw materials re-appear here at a value of 15s., variable capital at 5s., making a total of 20s. invested by the employer. But he sells at 25s. Labour power is the only commodity which can produce more than it itself consumes. Of course, the worker can't sell his labour, because having sold his ability to work, his labour is his master's property. The difference between the value of labour power and the value of labour is, therefore, 5s. in this case, surplus value, or unpaid labour.

The manufacturer would argue that the £2,500 is a modest twenty-five per cent profit, a reward for his thrift and directive ability. It is quite true that, considered as a rate of profit, it is 25 per cent. of the original sum invested. However, the increase arises directly out of the variable portion of capital and to determine the

extent of the exploitation of the workers we must consider its relation to surplus value.

In our example we have £2,500 wages against £2,500 surplus value; or a 100 per cent. rate of exploitation. In other words, the total variable capital advanced, in this case, represented half of the value of the embodied labour.

Let us now take a producer who owns his means of production, a tailor for example. Let us suppose that he purchases his raw materials, he spins, weaves and tailors the coat. The wear and tear of his machinery together with the raw materials used costs, say £6. His labour power in the process is valued at £7. The total product is £13. His embodied labour is the source of the new wealth—the coat—and this he realises in full in selling the coat for £13. Had he been a wage slave, compelled to sell his labour power, as distinct from his labour he might have received about £3 10s. 10d. wages, or half the value of his labour power. The other half would go into the pocket of his master, as profit, surplus value. When people own their own instrument of production and sell the products of their own labour neither profit nor surplus value arise.

We can also regard this exploiting process from the standpoint of labour time. Workers are employed at a given wage, say £10 per week, for a specified working week of 44 hours. If the rate of exploitation is 100 per cent., then in the first half of the week they produce, in new wealth, value equal to their wages. In the second half a similar quantity is produced. The working week, therefore, includes 22 hours of surplus labour time.

In every process of production capital is expanded and accumulated. The im-



mense mechanism of production today is the outcome of countless generations of unpaid labour, of surplus value. This Marx calls dead labour returning vampire like to suck the blood of living labour. This vast productive equipment, the natural resources and the labour of society, has been the inheritance of the propertied class for hundreds of years and is utilised for their private gain. The inheritance of the producers, the workers, has been continued poverty, in various degrees of severity. The accumulation of capital and the expansion of the means of production, generally speaking, brings greater exploitation to the workers. Capitalism has produced these twins and

will always maintain them as long as it lasts.

The Marxian theory of value clearly shows the facts of our economic and social life in modern society. The abolition of capitalism is the sole means by which this state of affairs can be ended. In order to enjoy the fruits of their labour men and women must re-organise society on a Socialist basis. Only on this foundation can the great productive machinery, resources of nature and the labour of society be utilised to full capacity for the benefit of all of mankind. This great social change is possible and practical whenever a majority of workers decide to bring it about.

J. H.

## A NEW MAGAZINE

NOTHING that is new can be dismissed out of hand. If that sounds like a truism, it is at least one that bears and needs repetition. Ignorance and prejudice still stalk the world, and the untried, the unknown, are ruthlessly annihilated.

The approach of the Socialist is completely opposite to this. Our approach is and always must be scientific. In that spirit then, we examine yet one more journal, amid the welter of journals that fill the bookstalls, which claims to spread enlightenment.

October saw the launching of *New Society*, described as the social science weekly. The general layout is excellent, while the actual printing is a model to many of its contemporaries. Some idea of the range of subjects can be seen in a few of the articles in number one. "Softening the Sack" deals with redundancy and job security. "New facts on Teen-Age Marriage" with considerable detail. Barbara Wootton contributes "Socrates, Science and Social Problems"—a plea for the scientific approach to social problems. The Home Secretary is interviewed by editor Timothy Raison on his approach to crime, and Robert Bierstedt, head of the Department of

Sociology and Anthropology of New York University, gives a report on the various papers read to the recent meeting of the American Sociological Association.

Taken in all, there is much to interest and inform. But a word of warning. The leading article endeavours to explain the aims and methods of *New Society*, thus:

We shall not ignore ideas and theories; indeed we see their interpretation as one of the principal challenges to us. But we aim above all to link the study of society with practice; to tell the manager what the psychologist has to say, to make the town planner aware of what the social anthropologist is revealing, to inform the local government official or councillor of the trends revealed by the demographer, to enable the magistrate to know what the criminologist has to offer and—in each case equally important—vice versa. The experience of the practitioner and the research of the academic are complementary, and our contributors will be drawn from both groups.

We can be under no illusion then, of the path that will be taken. However scientific the approach may be in intention, the sciences must be kept within the bounds of the existing social order—capitalism. This makes a mockery of the very name of science and means that just one more hunter joins in chasing a will-o-the-wisp, for we know that the problems of society can only be solved by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment in its place of Socialism. Nevertheless, there will be much worth studying in this journal if the early issues live up to their promise.

H. J. W.

The **WESTERN  
SOCIALIST**  
Journal for Socialism  
in the  
U.S.A and Canada  
6d monthly



December 1912

### CONSCRIPTION

The question as to whether or not conscription will, in the near future, become a necessity, appears to be once again very much "in the air." Lord Roberts, in the course of a recent speech, during which he implied the failure, and foreshadowed the disintegration, of the Territorial force, advocated more strenuously than ever his pet notion of universal military service. In this advocacy he is, of course, acting quite logically—more logically, indeed, than those "lovers of peace" (chiefly to be found among the Liberals and Labourists) who, while upholding and using all their efforts to maintain the present capitalist social system, at the same time deprecate what is, in reality, quite in accordance, morally and politically, with the development of capitalism.

\*

To a man such as Lord Roberts, who has managed to make a fortune and win a title through professional soldiering, military service will, of course, seem all that is desirable. But what the devil is the poor drudge of capitalism, the wage-slave, to get out of it? A fortune and a title? Hardly! At what should be the best portion of his life—his early manhood—he would be taken, numbered like a convict or a beast of burden at a cattle show, herded with his fellow beasts in compounds, trained and drilled and bullied and brow-beaten, taught to walk upright and to handle a rifle, taught to shoot sufficiently straight to kill and maim certain of his fellows (whom he has never seen before and with whom he has no quarrel), coming out of the Army at the end of his term with all the virtues of an efficient, non-thinking, non-questioning wage-slave, with all the initiative and all the self-confidence knocked out of him. Truly a delightful prospect!

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,  
December 1912

## NEWS FROM AUSTRIA Danube Doctors dilemma

IF AUSTRIA is said to be the land of classical winter unemployment, it might also be called the classical land of strikes. After a whole series of strikes and strike threats in such diverse trades and industries as iron, engineering, mines, hotel and catering, and dairies, a general strike of postal workers was averted only at the eleventh hour. This was when it was shown that the damage to the economy would have been far greater than the "overwork bonus" conceded to the workers after days of negotiations. If only they had been a tiny fraction as obdurate as the Vienna doctors!

These medicos have for over two years been conducting a bitter fight with the City's Health Service Administration; although primarily a struggle for better pay, they have been fighting also over the form of remuneration proposed by the administration and have refused to continue working under the status of "salaried employees of the panel."

In a world where everything is commercialised and state interference is becoming more usual, the creation of national health service administrations is hardly surprising and has spelled an end to the doctors' former practice of fixing their own fees and collecting their "honorariums" by individual arrangement. "Honorarium" sounds so much better, don't you think? Apart from the illusion of independence and respectability, it helps to foster the equally false dividing line between the "social status" of doctors and dockers. Now the doctors in Austria are to become salaried state employees and they do not like it one bit.

Most workers of the world have long acquiesced in that degrading way of life—working for wages to secure the necessities of life for themselves and their families. It is deplorable that they should not only tolerate it, but vote repeatedly for its continuation with the inescapable contradictions and incongruities. The resulting social evils include, of course, recurrent crises and war. But do the Vienna doctors share our Socialist viewpoint? No, unfortunately. In any case, unless rebels against this insane set-up can enlist far greater numbers to their ranks and organise politic-

ally for its removal, any sections of workers still enjoying a certain independence will sooner or later be engulfed in the mad vortex. And for all their apparent fighting spirit, the doctors seem to be amongst those in the very rear of the revolutionary movement for fundamental change.

Yet they have adopted all the methods used universally by workers in the class struggle, and have demonstrated their identity with the working class. There have been strikes, street demonstrations and marches, even skirmishes at hospitals and collisions with the police. All rather unacademic and undignified, and quite unusual in these intellectual milieux.

When the old Health Insurance Scheme expired in April, the doctors presented their new demands, including what was considered a sensational and hitherto unheard of increase of 65 per cent. in basic salary. The claim was later said to amount even to 88 per cent. It nearly took the panel executives' breath away and needless to say, after recovering from the shock, they rejected the demand. Hard and fruitless negotiations went on for months. Elections held within the medical profession overwhelmingly confirmed its stubborn radical element, and their solidarity frustrated all the earlier attempts to break their resistance.

Of course, the doctors found no support in the press; an important part of it was even outspokenly hostile to them. Neither did they get any shrift from the so-called "Socialist" politicians. Vice Chancellor Dr. Pittermann, for example, referred to the medicos' leaders as "that gang" or "clique," or as "wild demonstrating doctors in white overalls, whose place was in the dispensaries and hospitals." At the same time, the mass of the population were more or less indifferent, though grumbling because they now had to pay cash down for every consultation or visit, while contributions to the panel had to be paid as before the strike.

No doubt under financial strain after months of struggle, the doctors had to accept a compromise timed provisionally to the end of the year. Nothing even approaching their original demands was obtained. As against their 65 per cent., they were offered 14.6 per cent. and were

ordered by the government to "accept and negotiate afterwards."

Doctors do not as a rule consider themselves as members of the working class; they think they are superior. But on whatever rung of the social ladder they may fancy themselves to be, they are workers and their economic position remains precarious and insecure. Illness, accident, unemployment or other vicissitudes of life under capitalism, imperil the workers' economic existence, if they do not cause a virtual family catastrophe. The doctors must learn that neither free-lance work nor salaried employment will raise them to the status of our six hundred millionaires, or for that matter of the rest of the Austrian capitalists, for these people do not sell their labour power and therefore do not need to bargain with anybody over its price.

While one must sympathise with the doctor's (or anyone else's) struggle for a better life and greater security, the unpalatable fact remains that so long as people are dependent for their living on finding a buyer for the only commodity they possess, their labour power, they cannot share the amenities and the security enjoyed by those who own and control the means of production and who live on surplus value. Their incomes are not endangered by illness and will continue to flow even when they are pleasure cruising around the world.

It may be as hard for doctors as for other potential "rung climbers" to see their fellow academicians and intellectuals in lucrative positions in industry as managers, as heads of state departments, and as ministers getting up to double and treble the average doctor's income. They see them travelling the world, wining and dining with the big boys in their palaces and mansions. No wonder they feel bitter! But bitterness is not enough. Knowledge is the answer. Knowledge of the capitalist system and how to end it

R. FRANK.

★ **QUESTIONS OF THE  
DAY** (1/3 post paid)



## A GOAL FOR THE FUTURE

THE RESERVES had just won their first home match of the season by four goals to one. Discussing the merits of the game, the spectators gradually drifted from the stands and terraces towards the gates. In the roadway outside the ground small knots of men conversed animatedly, moving aside only to avoid the cars wending their way gingerly between them. In the reflected glare of the half-dimmed floodlights a crowd of men and a few women stood expectantly around the office doors of the club, their faces displaying anxiety reminiscent in a very mild way of the poignant pictures of those who wait at the pit head after a mine disaster.

It had been announced by loud speaker during the interval that the first team, playing away that evening against the erstwhile leaders of the First Division, were losing 2-0 at half-time. This was East London's least fashionable football team, "a rummage sale bargain outfit," but, nevertheless, recent proud entrants into the Senior division after fifty years or more of wooden spooning in the lower divisions.

The full-time score would shortly be known and the fans were reluctant to depart, hoping against hope to hear that their heroes had at least forced a draw. The look of mingled concern and hope on their faces was almost pathetic and demonstrated a touching loyalty to the club which most of them had probably supported for many years.

Interest in sport, like that in hobbies and study, is not, in itself, an unhealthy thing. Man does not live by bread alone and it is understandable that, after a week of monotonous toil, many a worker finds refreshment and stimulation at the weekly football match, where he can give vent to his feelings and for a short time release himself from the inhibitions and frustrations of workaday life. Healthier still would be the active participation of all people, young and old, in some form of recreative sport which, no doubt, would result in producing a human race less subject to the physical and mental infirmities so rife today. But that happy state of affairs is reserved for the time when the present money-making system, in which playing fields and other sports facilities give way to the demands of more profitable undertakings, will be replaced by a sane system of society in which workers will not toil to the point of exhaustion

and will have the energy to enjoy the ample leisure time that such a system would ensure.

Today most of us enjoy sport only as a spectacle and as a means of entertainment. Capitalism, always ready to oblige where profit may be made, has commercialised many forms of sport and hundreds of thousands of people now pay to be delighted and excited by the performance of highly skilled and well trained professional sportsmen, particularly in boxing, tennis, cricket and football, both Association and Rugby. Association football, formerly the preserve of public school and university men, has in the twentieth century been taken to the hearts of the working class. Professionalism has grown rapidly. In the early years of the century footballers' pay was comparatively poor, but some workers were able to augment their incomes from their regular jobs by playing for the local club at weekends. Many a famous player has begun his career while working in some Scottish or South Wales mine or Lancashire mill.

Today full-time professionalism is the rule and despite the fall in gates at football matches during the past few years professional footballers, by resolute trade union action, have succeeded in obtaining much better rates of pay and conditions. In addition the star system has emerged by which outstanding players who attract large gates are able, by taking advantage of the competition between clubs for their services, to command much higher wages than average while club managers acquire ulcers and disburse tens of thousands of pounds in striving to capture them for their clubs. Naturally, it is the richest clubs which can pay most money, so that the tendency is for the stars to gravitate

towards them. Football club profit depend upon large gates, so—woe to the manager whose team fails to draw in the paying spectators. His days are numbered.

Football pools are another example of profit-making applied to sport. Weekly, the proceeds of millions of small stakes are distributed among a lucky few, after the pools promoters have taken their slice. Every Saturday evening during the season millions of workers, with fingers crossed and bated breath, scan the football results in the classified editions, hoping that, at long last, the winning line has turned up to lift them out of the "affluence" of the working class into the real ease and independence of the capitalist class.

The knowledge of sports lore exhibited by some fans is nothing short of amazing. To listen to a discussion by such people can be very enlightening. Workers, whose memories are notoriously short about politicians' electoral promises, are found to be highly efficient in remembering the results of matches (the names of goal-scorers thrown in for good value) and the names of winners of horse-races that took place in the far distant past. To understand and explain the complicated rules of various games seems child's play to people who, we are told, will never be logical enough to grasp the principles of Socialism. The way many a worker effortlessly overcomes the intricacies of the back pages of the 12 o'clock editions reminds one of the graceful ease of a Grand National winner taking a hurdle and disproves any contention that working class brains are inferior. And as for loyalty and enthusiasm—well, one has only to witness an argument between two opposing fans to see that these qualities are not lacking.

There is nothing to deplore in the interest that workers show in sport or in any other pleasant or useful leisure occupation. However, we cannot help thinking, when we observe the crowds of workers at football matches and other sports events, that if only a fraction of the thought and energy, loyalty and enthusiasm which are devoted to sport interests were diverted to the study and propagation of Socialist principles and ideas and the building up of a strong Socialist movement, how much nearer would be brought the day when the world

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm

East Street

December 16th (noon)

9th & 23rd (11 am)

30th (1 pm)

#### Thursdays

Earls Court, 8 pm

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

#### Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, 8 pm

would be freed from the evils of capitalism.

In a moneyless Socialist world in which the means of production and distribution would be owned by all in common, each would contribute to the work of Society according to ability and receive according to need. Profit-making and buying and selling would have been ended and hence money would be unnecessary. Commercialism, therefore, would cease to exist in sport just as it would disappear in every other sphere of social life. In the same way as the means of life would be produced only for use and would be free to all, so would sports be indulged in only for the fun of the game and facilities to take part in them would be available in abundance to everybody.

No longer would there be the need for extra monetary inducement to win games, nor the buying and selling of footballers like bullocks at a cattle market. Freed from their price-tags the better players

would be valued for what they really are, not supermen, but skilful players very dependent for their success on the competence of their team mates. In a world of human co-operation and harmony the only competition would be in such activities as sport and the most highly-prized reward for the prowess of the player would be the applause and admiration of his fellowmen. How different from the petty viciousness of the commercial competition which pervades most of social life in the present profit-making system with its industrial strife, class and racial hatreds and destructive wars!

Fellow football fans:

Socialism is a goal worth working for!

"So now to the task of ending Capitalism."

UP, UP, UP—to World Socialism."

(With apologies to the writer of Leyton Orient's programme notes.)

SOCRATES.

## Sharing our rising prosperity

A RECENT ISSUE of the *West Middlesex Gazette* front-paged the story of the plight of Indian immigrants in Southall, West London. Unable on arrival in this country to compete with the native-born workers for housing, the Indians are forced to spend a sardine-like existence in houses owned by their fellow countrymen.

These landlords are determined to make something out of their investment and by living themselves in one or two rooms they can let off the rest, with complete disregard for comfort or sanitation. The small exploiter is often the more ruthless, for his field of operation and expansion is so much more limited. The wretched tenants are charged sums ranging from £4 for one room with little or no furniture. In some cases 15 persons are using a kitchen or 20 using one W.C. Housing laws are disregarded, no rent books are issued and attempts to protest are met by threats, or expulsion. The tenants often unorganised and being coloured and poor have only a remote chance of obtaining accommodation elsewhere. For this reason, the newspaper concerned was careful to suppress the names and addresses of the lodgers they had interviewed.

Local officials, councillors and M.P.'s, all express concern and promise to look into the matter. When immigrants flock into areas already suffering from inadequate housing for the working class, one

would have thought that local dignitaries must at least have some idea about where they are going to live and under what conditions.

Industries and transport then needed certain types of labour (generally for the lower paid jobs) and politicians will seldom seriously interfere with the urgent needs of the capitalist class. After all, the working class elected them to office to run capitalism, whether they call themselves Tory or Labour.

Local councils will run into a problem if they force coloured landlords to unload their over crowded tenants. Where can they go? A strong prejudice prevents most white landlords from having them, and so does their low wage earning capacity. It would be a brave council unconcerned about the threat of not being re-elected, that placed coloured persons at the head of an ever-lengthening housing list. While such sores of human tragedies

### CORRECTIONS

We must apologise to our readers for a number of printing errors which crept into the November STANDARD. In the article "Not what it used to be" on page 171 in the quotation from Titmus in the penultimate paragraph the word "largely" should of course have been "rarely".

can be eased somewhat, there is a very real danger that coloured groups will remain in their plight. Capitalism pulls down and rebuilds the Gorbals and recreates at the same time a 20th century brown skinned Seven Dials in Southall and elsewhere.

Statements made by George Pargiter, Labour M.P. for Southall, reflect the mental floundering of our left wing planners. "We must deport the landlords," he says. But what if the landlords are native or have become naturalised? Property ownership has inflicted some shocking human misery on the needy, and nationality has little or nothing to do with it. Mr. Pargiter condemned the Tory government's Immigration Act; he now advocates that everyone, black or white, should be discouraged from settling in Southall. He need have no worry about keeping out one group in society; the capitalist class, irrespective of their colour, by virtue of their wealth have a strong objection to eating with a dustbin under the dining table or having their pent house overshadowed by a gas works.

"The new towns must take more people" points out Southall's M.P. Alas for our Labour planners, the mills of capitalism are now throwing up the evil of unemployment in such new towns as Stevenage and newcomers are not likely to be very welcome there.

People live in bad surroundings because their wages do not enable them to get anything better. Being without property, most people have to sell their energies to an employer in order to live. The wage we receive for that is basically determined by the social cost of producing our skill and knowledge. No matter how hard people may work, their wages remain low because it costs little to reproduce their labour power.

The working class as a whole are poor, especially when their incomes are compared with the amount of wealth they as a class produce. Within the wages system some sections of the working class are forced down to the point of degradation. We have the technical means to produce fine homes for everyone, but capitalist society will not readily do so unless a profit can be made from them. The higher the prospective profit the greater the incentive to production.

The threat of unemployment is always with us and with it can come more serious clashes between black and white, British and foreigners, over precious jobs. The maniacal theories of Hitler, despised and crushed only yesterday, can be revived again in certain conditions; and those conditions are always latent in capitalism. It is not yet too late for workers to start to overthrow the false conceptions that crowd into their minds.

T. LAW.



## WHY SOCIALISTS OPPOSE THE LABOUR PARTY

The Socialist Party of Great Britain and its companion parties abroad form an International Movement with nothing less than Socialism as its only object. This movement is revolutionary because it seeks political power for a completely new system of production and distribution for use without money, buying or selling, wages and classes, or privileges of domination by any class of owners of the means of living. This World International Socialist Movement opposes the Labour Party because they waste energy and time trying to do the impossible, attempting to make capitalism function more smoothly in the interest of the working class. The Labour Government of 1945-51, with its overwhelming majority, falsely convinced the working class that Nationalisation was Socialism and was in the interests of the working class, yet they continued the wages system which is in the interests only of the capitalist class.

The Socialist Party oppose the Labour

Party because they lead the working class to believe their housing conditions can be greatly improved yet know the working class can only obtain poor housing, because that is all they can pay for from their wages.

The Socialist Party oppose the Labour Party's idea of so-called intellectuals' leadership because this encourages mental laziness on the part of the working class and discourages them from organising together to examine their own problems and find the only solution; Socialism. The Socialist Party oppose the Labour Party which supported armament production, and therefore war, from which the working class can have nothing but suffering and losses. Trade Union action for higher wages or better conditions for workers is always opposed when the Labour Party becomes the Government. Only by Political power for Socialism can the working class end Capitalism and solve their social ills for a life of peace and plenty.

DAVID LAMOND.

## CHARLEY CLARKE

It was with deep regret that Nottingham members heard of the death of our comrade Charley Clarke, of Burton-on-Trent, in his 87th year. Charley was the eldest of the three Clarke brothers, well known no doubt to many of the older party members, their membership of The Party having extended over many years, and anyone who came in contact with them must have been impressed by their utter and sincere dedication to the cause of Socialism.

As Socialists, their way of life did not run along orthodox lines and they were regarded as rather queer fish by the people in Burton. All three for instance were bachelors, vegetarians, and among other interests were students of natural history, astronomy, and other aspects of science. Joe the younger brother aged 70 years, has had his daily swim in the river Trent, winter and summer, for many years. Living as close to "nature" as conditions would permit, it is not surprising that the locals did believe that they were not quite "with it".

There was always great consternation when this trio attended political meetings, where they carried out devastating attacks on all non-socialists, and proceeded to mutilate

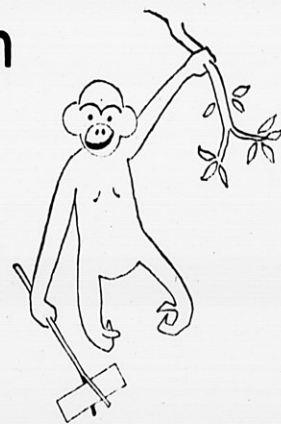
the policies of the Labour and Communist Parties, much to the confusion of some speakers and audiences alike. This of course did not help their popularity among the local politicians.

Because of their opposition to the first World War, they were recipients of the honour of "The White Feather", at the hands of the local "patriots", and all three went to prison as conscientious objectors, much to the delight of the jingoists. Although their life must have been very hard, they never gave up the struggle, and indeed, by their very sincerity made many friends among those who understood what they were striving for.

In their work for Socialism they have travelled many miles to political meetings, to sell literature, and ask questions. This work will be carried on by Fred and Joe. A last gesture from Charley, while he lay on his death bed, attended by his brother Joe, was to urge Joe to leave him to attend a meeting at Nottingham to carry on the work for Socialism. The most noble work that mankind can perform. That is what Charley used to say.

J. C.

## Branch News



**Glasgow Branch.** Members have been enthusiastically working hard throughout the year, following up the work done during the Municipal elections, they are carrying on with great energy and success during the Parliamentary by-election at Woodside, Glasgow. Apart from the normal meetings and canvassing, additional meetings have been arranged, and despite the fact that St. Andrews Halls (where a whole series of meetings had been arranged) was burned down a week or so ago, the members quickly arranged other accommodation—at the Woodside Halls—and are carrying on.

The **Lewisham Branch** series of lectures has got off to a good start. Members have done a great deal of preparatory work. Every weekend since the end of September members have been touring the area posting bills announcing forthcoming lectures and meetings; some sixty or seventy posters have gone up each weekend, all of them written by hand by branch members. Street maps have been made of each part of the local district, and members have covered each area in turn putting printed hand-bills through the letter boxes. The work of organising and advertising the lectures is now beginning to show fruit. Five lectures had been held up to November 12th. At the first one there were four visitors, besides a good attendance of branch members; the visitors returned in the following weeks, together with a steadily increasing number of others, until at the fifth lecture on November 12th, there were fourteen visitors. The Branch room is now getting overcrowded and if attendances continue to increase the Branch will have to consider hiring a larger room. At the first lecture the literature sales amounted to 4s.; at the fifth they came to 14s. Collections at the first four meetings averaged £1 6s. 0d.; at the November 12th lecture the collection was £2 1s. 6d. And at this same lecture three of the visitors enquired how they should apply to join the Party. Lewisham Branch members are now looking forward eagerly to the meeting at Lewisham Town Hall on November 27th. (This at the time of going to press). The challenge to all other local political parties to debate the Socialist Party of Great Britain at this meeting was printed in the "Kentish Mercury" as a news item.

**Coventry Group** has been busily occupied "on the canvass" on Sunday mornings. Their method was to call at houses and leave

copies of back issues of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD** and leaflets and followed up on the third Sunday with the October **STANDARD** to sell. The comrades are optimistic that they can work up a good sales result by this method and at the same time they consider it good propaganda to distribute back issues to people who will most likely read them, instead of back issues being left on branch and Head Office shelves. The Group is arranging a combined propaganda/social drive at Rugby one Saturday afternoon, selling literature outside Rugby's Central Library and having a social at the home of Comrade Skillings (late of London) who has visited the group meeting place and is very impressed with the work being done by the Group members. Another Party member will soon be resident in Coventry and Comrades are hoping that before long the Group will become the Coventry Branch of the SPGB.

**Two donations** have recently been made to the Party—one from a close sympathiser and associate of Hackney Branch. He is anxious that more copies of the **STANDARD** are sold, and he is particularly concerned that there is a deficit balance on the cost and sales of the **STANDARD**, hence his donation. The other donation was made to Islington Branch and was sent by workers in the Mount Pleasant Sorting Office. This, and the other donation are of great help to the Party and very much appreciated.

For meetings, film shows and socials, please read pages 191 also the Branch Directory for Branch meeting dates and times, where all are welcome by Party comrades. A new pamphlet—**The Case for Socialism** has been published by the Party. Price One Shilling. This is a most useful and interesting pamphlet, especially for comrades who are contacting workers who have not yet read much about Socialism.

**Annual Reminder.** In this, and most issues, is a subscription form for the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**. How could one better start 1963 than by being certain that every month a copy of the **STANDARD** will be received by a friend or relation. For 8s. which includes postage, this can be arranged. Fill in the form, send the cash to Head Office and the rest is done. Apart from passing on some first class reading matter, one will be helping to sell more **STANDARDS** and most of all, spreading Socialist propaganda which is the only way to interest workers in Socialism, and, being interested, they will work for Socialism.

P. H.

### WEMBLEY SOCIAL

**Saturday, December 15th, 7.30 pm**  
**Ealing Park Tavern,**

South Ealing Rd, W5 (Nr. S. Ealing Underground)

Music—Licensed Bar—Free Food—Raffle

Tickets 4s. from R. G. Cain  
18 Gloucester Rd, Ealing, W5

## Meetings

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Halls, Clarendon Street  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

December 2nd  
**CHINA—THE NEW GIANT**  
Speaker: J. Richmond

December 9th  
**FRANCO'S SPAIN**  
Speaker: A. Shaw

December 16th  
**INSIDE THE KREMLIN**  
Speaker: D. Donaldson

December 23rd  
**CRISIS IN AFRICA**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

December 30th  
**INSIDE THE U.S.A.**  
Speaker: R. Donnelly

### EDINBURGH MEETINGS

Free Gardeners Hall, Picardy Place  
Sundays, 7 pm

December 2nd  
**FRANCO'S SPAIN**  
Speaker: A. Shaw

December 9th  
**INSIDE THE KREMLIN**  
Speaker: D. Donaldson

December 16th  
**CRISIS IN AFRICA**  
Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

December 23rd  
**INSIDE THE U.S.A.**  
Speaker: R. Donnelly

December 30th  
**CHINA—THE NEW GIANT**  
Speaker: J. Richmond

### PADDINGTON LECTURES

Royal Oak, York Street,  
Marylebone Road, W1  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

December 5th  
**SOCIALISM—ITS POSSIBILITIES**  
Speaker: A. Fahy

December 12th  
Title to be announced  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

December 19th  
**BRANCH SOCIAL**

**SUNDAY MEETINGS, 8 pm** Head Office, 52 Clapham High St. SW4

December 2nd  
**SOME ASPECTS OF MARXISM**  
Speaker: Gilmac

### WEMBLEY LECTURES

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Harrow Road, Wembley  
Mondays, 8 pm

December 3rd  
**REFLECTIONS ON VANCE PACKARD**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

December 17th  
**GROWTH OF THE LCC**  
Speaker: H. Phillippis

### LEWISHAM LECTURES

Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Rd.  
Rushey Green, Catford. SE6  
Mondays, 8 pm

December 3rd  
**ORIGINS OF CAPITALISM**

December 10th  
**REFORMISM**

December 17th  
**WAR**

### CAMBERWELL LECTURES

52 Clapham High Street. SW4  
Mondays, 8 pm

December 3rd  
**DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICS IN AUSTRALIA**  
Speaker: W. Morris

December 17th  
**THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

January 7th  
**SOCIALISM AND RACIALISM**  
Speaker: J. Millen

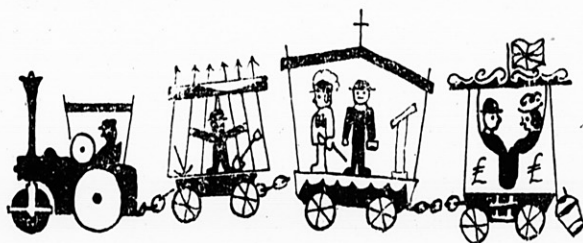
### BETHNAL GREEN MEETINGS

Bethnal Green Town Hall, Cambridge  
Heath Road, E2  
Wednesdays, 8pm

December 12th  
**REFORM OR REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: R. Starc

December 19th  
**ANOTHER WAR ?**  
Speaker: C. Michael





## THE PASSING SHOW

### Ambition

The headmaster of a boys' secondary school in Wimbledon published an article recently in *The Director*, saying that young people in Britain are not ambitious. He said that he had gone through the forms filled in by pupils who were going to be interviewed by a youth employment officer. As answers to the question, "What do you want to be?" the headmaster would have liked to see boys putting down "Prime Minister, admiral, field marshal, explorer, ambassador". Instead, they put down "clerk, manual worker, draughtsman, hairdresser."

One can imagine what a youth employment officer, with his usual supply of dull jobs as factory-hands or shop-assistants, would say to any secondary modern schoolboy who came to him demanding a job as Prime Minister or admiral. But the question goes deeper than that. The boys were not putting down the jobs they would theoretically have liked doing; they were putting down the jobs which they knew perfectly well they would have to spend the rest of their lives doing. They were showing, in fact, a better grasp of realities than the headmaster. And if

the headmaster wants his pupils to spend their lives doing rewarding, satisfying work, then he will have to reconsider his support of the capitalist system.

### White collar

The cherished old belief that there is something different about white-collar workers, something which marks them out as being separate and distinct from manual workers, is dying, but only slowly. It is still possible to hear the opinion that office-workers or salaried employees have nothing to do with the class struggle. And yet the development of capitalism is making this belief more and more obsolete. In various parts of the world recently there have been strikes of doctors, teachers, civil servants and other white-collar workers. Now, in Italy, even magistrates are going on strike. *The Times* (6/11/62) said:

Italian magistrates have decided to go on strike for three days later this month. They are protesting against what they feel to be a decline in their status, due to rapid changes in Italian society and the reluctance of the Government to do anything about it. The strike is due to start on November 28th, and if carried out it will be unprecedented in Italian judicial history. Their descent from the bench into the social fray brings the magistrates into line with other professions—they are salaried civil servants here. . . . They are now following the path set by doctors, teachers, senior civil servants, and court officials among others, all of whom in the past few months have been protesting for much the same reasons.

In fact there is no section of the working class which is outside the class struggle, and which will not defend its interests by various class-sections such as strikes when the need arises.

### Expulsion

The recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly that its member states should break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, and apply economic sanctions against her, plus a request to the Security Council to consider "if necessary" the expulsion of South Africa, is very revealing. If this

expulsion is carried out, it will be the first ever of a member of the United Nations. Yet many of the member states are extremely antagonistic to each other—Russia and America are only the most obvious examples. Why, then, has the proposal of expulsion been made only about South Africa?

For a very simple reason. The members of the United Nations are either full-blown capitalist countries, like Britain, America, Russia, and so on, or are straining every nerve to set up a complete capitalist economy, like many of the ex-colonial states. There is only one exception to this rule: in South Africa, for various reasons, the class in power is not the capitalist class but the landowning class. And despite the hatred that the various capitalist countries and blocs feel for each other, they are prepared to gang up with each other in order to attack a country where the capitalist class has not yet been able to seize political power.

### Presents

Not sure what to buy for Christmas presents? Can't think of anything really exciting? You should get one of the Christmas catalogues issued by Harrod's. You'll find plenty of suggestions there.

You could, for example, solve your Christmas present problem with a jade goddess table lamp—"with shade"—for 963 guineas.

Or you could get a diamond ring, for £3,750.

Or, better still, a "four-seater Skyhawk aircraft with range of 550 miles." That will set you back £6,348.

You could consider any of these if you are a member of the class that these suggestions are aimed at—the capitalist class. Yet even if you are a member of the working class the catalogue is not without significance.

It is always interesting to see what the capitalist class is doing with the money it makes out of the labour of the rest of us.

ALWYN EDGAR.

### Companion Parties

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

#### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son Ltd. (T.U.) 97 Banner Street, London, E.C.1